EPOCHS

OF

MODERN HISTORY

THE FALL OF THE STUARTS

REV. E. HALE. M.A.

City of Westminster.

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THE FALL OF THE STUARTS AND WESTERN EUROPE

REV. E. HALE, M.A.

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Epochs of Modern History

THE

FALL OF THE STUARTS

AND

WESTERN EUROPE

FROM 1678 TO 1697

BY THE

REV. E. HALE, M.A.

LATE ASSISTANT-MASTER AT ETON

WITH MAPS AND PLANS

ELEVENTH IMPRESSION

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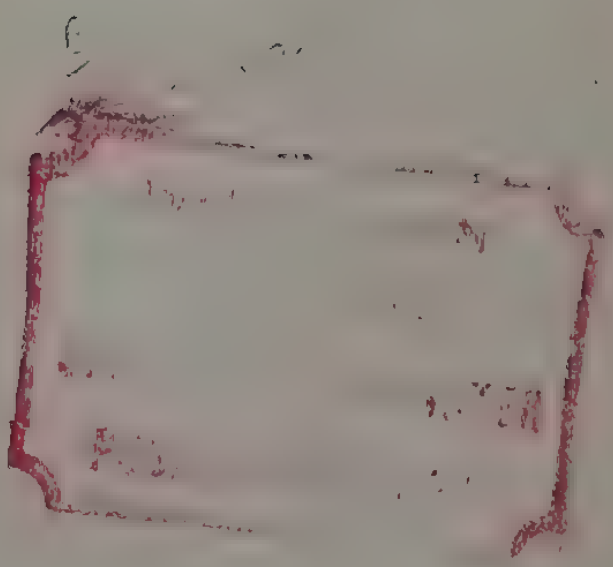

PREFACE.

THIS LITTLE SKETCH is intended to form an easy introduction to the study of the period. Those who have not taught the young themselves will hardly know how difficult it is to make such an introduction sufficiently easy and simple.

It is to be hoped that the reader will supplement this meagre outline of a great 'epoch.' He will naturally turn first to Lord Macaulay's 'History of England,' and his Essay on Sir W. Temple. At the same time he will do well to study carefully Hallam's 'Constitutional History,' chapters 12—15. For contemporary writings, Burnet's 'History of his Own Times,' and the rich mine of Evelyn's Memoirs are readily accessible.

To these should be added Ranke's 'History of the Seventeenth Century,' vols. 3—6 (lately translated); for Continental history, H. Martin's 'Histoire de France,' vols. 13 and 14; for religious history, Principal Tulloch's 'Rational Theology in England in

the Seventeenth Century'; for military details and plans of battles in the Netherlands, there is much to learn from Sir F. Hamilton's 'History of the Grenadier Guards,' to which I wish to express my own obligations, as also to my friend and late colleague, the Rev. WILLIAM WAYTE.

ETON COLLEGE, *March* 1876.

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THE

FALL OF THE STUARTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

SECTION I.—*Wars.*

THE history of Western Europe in the seventeenth century is a history of wars.

'Wars destroy the morals of mankind by habituating them to refer everything to force, and by necessitating them so often to dispense with the ordinary suggestions of sympathy and justice.' This is true of wars in general; but the demoralising effect is much greater if wars are civil wars, or religious wars —wars, that is, between fellow-citizens to serve the ends of some political party, or to enforce the observance of some political truth; or wars between fellow-Christians to force all to follow some religious creed. Moral virtues are in these cases uprooted; military virtues, which may exist in the most depraved man or state, flourish.

Immorality of wars.

The era of the great Protestant Revolution ushered in the period of religious wars.

France was devastated by religious and civil wars combined in the latter half of the sixteenth, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It took part in the

Thirty Years' War of Germany (1618–1648); it was again the theatre of the civil war of the Fronde, in which aimless attempts were made to oppose the absolutism of the French crown (1648–1653). Germany was almost ruined by its great civil and religious Thirty Years' War. England had also suffered in its great civil and partly religious war, which ended in 1648, with the execution of Charles I.

Religious and civil wars, of France, Germany, and England.

The great principle of religious toleration was unknown in the sixteenth century, and taught without success by a few great thinkers in the seventeenth century. Men believed great truths, by believing which they thought they secured their salvation, and they deemed it their bounden duty to make others believe, in order that they too might be saved. So not merely were wars undertaken for the sake of religious tenets, but within the several countries there were persecutions of Christians by Christians, of Englishmen by Englishmen, Frenchmen by Frenchmen, Germans by Germans.

Religious persecutions.

Nevertheless it is only through the fire of religious and civil wars, and of religious persecutions, that the cause of religious and civil liberty comes out triumphant. The fall of the Stuarts, of which we shall treat, is an event in the successful struggle for civil and religious liberty.

The outcome of the religious and civil wars and persecutions.

The latter half of the seventeenth century was occupied by wars of a less demoralising character than civil and religious wars; by wars undertaken by one man, Lewis XIV., to obtain certain personal ends. These ends were the supremacy of Western Europe, the Imperial crown, and the succession to the throne of Spain. Of what befell Lewis in his attempts to secure the supremacy of Western Europe, and how the 'balance of power' was eventually righted, we shall also treat.

The balance of power.

Section II.—*Peace of Nimwegen*, 1678.

The sovereigns of the principal states of Europe in 1678 were:—Leopold of Hapsburg, Emperor; Lewis XIV., King of France; Charles II., King of England; Charles II., King of Spain; William, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder or Governor of the United Provinces of Holland.

A.D. 1678. Sovereigns of Western Europe.

Holland and England were the great naval powers; France coming next to them, and then Spain.

Lewis XIV. having designs on the independence of the United Provinces of Holland, prevailed on Charles II. of England to join him in declaring war on Holland in 1672. In England the war was so unpopular that when a parliament was summoned in 1673 in order to vote supplies to carry on the war, the majority in it, opposed to the policy of Charles and his ministers, drove the ministry from power, declined to vote further supplies, and forced the king in 1674 to make peace with Holland.

Lewis of France and Charles of England make war with Holland, 1672.

England makes peace, 1674.

The Emperor Leopold and Charles II., King of Spain, alarmed for the safety of their dominions, which were threatened by the success of Lewis against Holland, concluded an alliance with the United Provinces.

Germany and Spain unite against France.

Although the private intrigues of Lewis XIV. with the King of England kept that country neutral, the sympathies of the English nation were so strongly excited on behalf of the Dutch and their Stadtholder William of Orange, that it became evident to both Lewis and Charles that this neutral position could not long be maintained. Lewis, by the aid of his ambassador, Barillon, attempted to foment dissensions amongst the popular party in the

parliament by bribery, the means which he had hitherto effectually employed with Charles and his ministers. But his success was not sufficient to warrant him in advising Charles to oppose the wishes of the nation. In 1677 William of Orange married Mary, elder of the two daughters of James, the Duke of York and heir presumptive of Charles II., and thus had claims of relationship on Charles, which, in the seventeenth century, were considered by politicians more binding than they are now. Charles and Lewis consequently agreed that the former should become the mediator for a peace, by which France should profit, Holland should not suffer, and the pride of the English should be gratified by the prominent position which their country should occupy in the negotiations. After many difficulties, overcome chiefly by the diplomatic tact of Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at the Hague on the one hand, and by that of the plenipotentiary of Lewis on the other, a treaty was signed August 10, 1678.

England mediates for peace.

This treaty put an end to the war. It was called the Peace of Nimwegen, (Nimeguen), from the small town on the frontier between Holland and Germany where it was signed. The treaty was drawn up in French, although Latin had hitherto been the diplomatic language, and this is an important fact in diplomatic history, as marking the claim of supremacy in Europe put forth by France.

Peace of Nimwegen, 1678.

The results of the treaty were that the United Provinces of Holland retained their integrity, Maestricht being restored to them, so that the boundaries of the states governed by William of Orange were almost identical with those of the present kingdom of the Netherlands. France, however, kept its conquests of Senegal and Guiana, and these settlements were the sole loss of Holland at the conclusion of a ter-

Territorial results of the peace.

rible war which had threatened to annihilate her. The United Provinces agreed to be neutral in any war which might continue between France and other powers, and guaranteed the neutrality of Spain. Treaties of commerce between France and Holland, conferring equal privileges on both nations for twenty-five years, were also signed. France gained from Spain, a declining power, and therefore the principal sufferer, Franche Comté (part of the old duchy of Burgundy, now forming the French departments of Haute Saône, Doubs, and Jura); and the towns of St. Omer, Valenciennes, Cassel, and the adjacent districts, (sometimes called French Flanders, and forming the department of the Nord). Spain retained that part of her dominions in the Netherlands which is almost conterminous with the present kingdom of Belgium. Lothringen (Lorraine) was restored to its duke, and again formed one of the states of the Empire, although practically deprived of its independence by being obliged to keep up for Lewis four military roads, each two miles broad, and also to give up its two fortified towns, Nancy and Longwy. It was at the time of the peace of Nimwegen that the power of France, and the glory of Lewis XIV., were at their height.

Section III.—*Lewis XIV. and France.*

Lewis XIV. was, when the peace of Nimwegen was signed, forty years old; his figure was handsome, his manners were engaging, although at the same time dignified. He had an excellent constitution, and was able to endure fatigue, cold, and hunger. He was not easily moved to anger, nor easily dispirited. These being his natural gifts, he himself, in his 'Mémoires historiques,' tells us the chief motives which influenced his actions. Character of Lewis XIV.

He had the most exalted idea of the kingly office. 'It

is the will of God,' wrote he, 'who has given kings to men, that they should be revered as His vicegerents, He having reserved to Himself alone the right to scrutinise their conduct.' 'It is the will of God that every subject should yield to his sovereign an implicit obedience.' 'All property within the nation belongs to the king by virtue of his title.' 'Kings are absolute lords.' 'L'État—c'est moi.' (The State—I am the State.)

His ambition was unbounded. 'Self-aggrandisement,' he writes, 'is at once the noblest and the most agreeable occupation of kings.'

Magnificence in daily life, and in pleasures, involving the greatest extravagance, was thus upheld by him—'A large expenditure is the almsgiving of kings.'

His habitual disregard of treaties was not the result of dishonesty or fickleness, but was the deliberate design of one who preferred pleasant manners to sincerity, who condemned a noble to exile with a sweet smile, and bowed with infinite grace to a courtier who before nightfall was on the road to prison. 'In dispensing,' he says, 'with the exact observance of treaties, we do not violate them; for the language of such instruments is not to be understood literally. We must employ in our treaties a conventional phraseology, just as we use complimentary expressions in society. They are indispensable to our intercourse with one another, but they always mean much less than they say.'

Lewis's intellectual powers were good, but not extraordinary. He was a man of strong opinions, of strong will, of strong health, a practical man of business, but not an originator, a governor rather than a statesman.

His private life was regulated by his pleasures; he, as a king, was subject to none of those laws which rule the lives of ordinary mortals, but his desires were never too strong to make him forget his ambitious designs.

From his mother, Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. of Spain, he inherited the Spanish fondness for ceremony and etiquette. Most of the European monarchs copied Lewis, and many of the silly and unmeaning ceremonies still practised in some continental courts may thus be traced to a Spanish source.

Lewis was a sincere Roman Catholic, but he never allowed his religious feelings to weaken his belief in the prerogatives of a king. He kept the temporalities of the Church in his own disposal. He was for all practical purposes as much the head of the Gallican Church, the Church of France, as Henry VIII. had been of the English Church.

His most trusted ministers were Colbert and Louvois; but, as Lewis was an absolute monarch, they were responsible to no one but their master; both alike were ministers dependent on his will, but they were directly opposed to each other on all questions of home or foreign policy. There was an unceasing struggle between Colbert and Louvois. During the war just ended, Colbert was continually advising Lewis to make peace; and, now that the peace was concluded, Louvois was continually urging him to renew the war. This difference which existed between them was a natural result of their respective duties. To Colbert was entrusted by Lewis the direction of finance, commerce, public works, and the colonies; to Louvois was given the post of minister of war.

Lewis' ministers, Colbert and Louvois.

On one point Colbert and Louvois were agreed, and that was in the employment of Vauban, the great master of the art of fortification. By Vauban 300 French fortresses were either built, repaired, or enlarged. These fortresses were designed chiefly for the defence of the French frontiers, which offered, and more particularly on the north-east, many

Vauban, the military engineer.

vulnerable points. Colbert for his part looked on the money expended in carrying out Vauban's plans, as sunk in insuring against the possibility of a war, which might be brought about by the temptation offered to a strong power of overrunning the north-eastern provinces of France, some of the richest provinces of the kingdom.

Colbert was a man of unimpeachable integrity, of great industry, and of bold and inventive genius. His political theories may now appear antiquated, but they prevailed universally for many generations, and by some French statesmen of the present day Colbert is considered the great authority on all national financial questions. His leading idea was to protect native produce and industry by placing heavy duties on exports, so heavy as to be almost prohibitory, and in some cases stopping importation altogether. To give an example. He allowed corn to be exported only when there had been an abundant harvest. If he anticipated a deficiency, the export was not permitted. Hence no agriculturist cared to cultivate poor land, but threw it out of cultivation, and the results of this were that there was a large extent of waste ground in France, and that the agriculturists were very poor. The poverty of the agriculturists again prevented their being customers of the manufacturers, and thus there was a loss of trade to the manufacturers.

Colbert's finance.

Another principle of Colbert's finance, now everywhere recognised as a pernicious principle, was the forbidding, as much as possible, gold and silver to be sent out of the kingdom. Coin was, therefore, everywhere hoarded, and this practice has continued in the rural districts of France even to the present day. Colbert did not perceive that if there was a deficiency of gold or silver in France, and coin consequently became dearer, there would be a rush of coin from other countries, where it was more abundant, and consequently cheaper, to supply that deficiency.

In the chief European nations, in England, France, Holland, Germany, Italy, there existed guilds, or companies, at the head of each trade and manufacture. These corporations regulated the practice of their trades, and fixed the prices to be paid to the labourers, and to be received for goods. They were often possessed of great wealth, and were of influence in the State. Their power was now beginning to decline, owing to various reasons, amongst others to greater freedom of communication. But Colbert endeavoured in France to prop up their failing influence. He promulgated edicts enforcing the regulations of the guilds; and these regulations were minute, pedantic, and tyrannical. The result was that trades and manufactures were artificially fostered; that they did not follow the natural wants of the population, as they do when perfect freedom is allowed them, but became producers and distributors of luxuries rather than of necessaries. During Colbert's ministry there were 17,300 persons engaged in manufacturing lace, a luxury; whilst 60,400 were all that were employed in woollen manufactures.

Colbert and the guilds.

Colbert was extremely rigorous against those who usurped privileges to which they were not legally entitled. This was in keeping with his action in upholding the authority of the guilds. There were certain privileges claimed by the nobility, which were assumed by some who had no legal right to do so. All such pretenders were punished by fines and imprisonments. He also endeavoured to introduce an uniform tariff throughout the kingdom. In this he only partially succeeded, as newly acquired provinces claimed privileges which had been reserved for them when they were added to France. With more complete success he reorganised the navy of France, and first raised it to the strength of a great maritime power. He codified the

Further policy of Colbert.

French laws. He carried out some magnificent public works; the most noteworthy of which is the great canal of Languedoc, connecting the Mediterranean and Atlantic, completed under his influence by the engineer, Pierre Paul de Riquet.

Slavery existed in the West Indian colonies of France, as in those of all other European nations. To Colbert's honour be it stated that, by the Code Noir introduced by him, the evils attendant on slavery were greatly mitigated, and the relations thus established between master and slave were not nearly so unrighteous as those which existed in the colonies of other States.

Colbert's 'Code Noir.'

All Colbert's financial projects had been deranged during the war just ended. The first period of his ministry, previous to 1672, had been styled by him a period of construction; the second, from 1672 to 1678, had been a period of destruction, owing to the expenses of the war; the third period he fondly hoped would be one of reconstruction, but this hope was not destined to be realised. In the years 1681 and 1682, Colbert redeemed 90 millions of livres of national debts; in the same years Lewis incurred debts to the amount of 100 millions.

Colbert's finance disarranged.

To meet the expenses of the war, it had been necessary to raise large sums by taxation. There was a tax on landed property and persons called the 'taille,' and almost every necessary of life was also taxed, even pewter vessels. One of the most hated of these taxes was that on salt, called the 'gabelle.' These burdens were borne almost exclusively by the producing and labouring classes, for among the many privileges of the nobility was that of large exemption from taxation. Those, therefore, paid least who could best afford to pay most. Distress among the tax-paying classes

Condition of the French people after the war.

was universal. Popular tumults arose in numerous districts and were put down with great severity. The wretched peasants were reduced to eating grass and the bark of trees; and famine slew thousands.

The system under which a great portion of the land in France was cultivated, which is called métairie, is an evil one. The métayer, (medietarius, middle-man) or occupier of the land, was provided by the owner with seed, cattle, and agricultural implements, and in return, besides paying all taxes, gave half the gross produce to the landowner. Though an advance on the serf system it did not invite peasants to spend money on the improvement of the land, and so produced poor cultivation. Half the produce was also too large a rent. The métayer grew as little corn as possible, and fed his geese in his wheat fields, for his half of the gross produce was insufficient to pay for the labour of cultivation. The farms of the métayers were very small, in reality but peasant-holdings. The relations existing between the peasant-farmer and his lord were very different from those existing in England between the village labourer and the squire. The French lord (seigneur) visited his estates only for retrenchment or to squeeze out larger yieldings from his métayers. He lived at the court. The magnificence and extravagance of Lewis XIV. were imitated on a smaller scale by all the nobility. Life in the country was looked on by a seigneur as exile. The responsibilities of a landlord were not recognised by him. He sought advancement at court, and for this advancement he intrigued and bribed. Even military service he seldom undertook from patriotic motives, but as a means of procuring court favour. When once a nobleman had secured a firm standing and influence at court, he made use of his position to replenish his fortune by selling his influence to less fortunate aspirants.

The noble, and peasant.

The hereditary and exclusive privileges of the nobility

and place-holders were so valuable that Lewis and his ministers increased the revenue by the sale of the titles and offices which conferred such privileges. By degrees monopolies were created. To such an extent was this system carried, that the privilege of exercising the meanest callings, such as those of porters or of mutes at funerals, was reserved to certain families, in consideration of a large money payment.

Monopolies.

In the provincial estates and parliaments of France existed the elements of civil liberty.

The local government of each province was entrusted to its estate. The estate met in assembly in the three orders of clergy, nobility, and commons. It raised the revenue required by the king, had authority to borrow money, and superintended the expenditure of money to be laid out on local purposes. But, in the reign of Lewis, there was placed over each provincial estate a royal functionary, called an intendant, and under him served various officials. He was appointed by the king's will was removable at the king's pleasure, and, in reality, controlled everything. The provincial estates often grumbled, but their opposition seldom extended further. The greater nobles lived at court, the clergy were faithful servants of the Crown, the intendant was the king's representative, so that although, theoretically, the power and privileges of the provincial estates still belonged to them, their power and their privileges were practically in the hands of the intendant. Opposition to the wishes of the intendant was easily silenced by quartering troops on a refractory district, or by the arbitrary imprisonment of an independent member of the estate.

Provincial estates.

The parliaments of France, originally nine, afterwards fifteen in number, were the supreme legal tribunals. The parliament of Paris was naturally the chief, but each parliament claimed to be independent of every other. They were jealous of each other's

Parliaments.

authority, and had no common principle of action. Besides their legal functions, they claimed the power of refusing to register in their archives any law which the king had promulgated, and they asserted that this refusal on their part rendered the law inoperative. Lewis, however, would not admit this claim of the parliaments; he compelled them to register his laws, he forbade them to prosecute any royal official who disobeyed their orders, and enforced his will by banishing any members of a parliament who upheld this privilege. The legal offices attached to the membership of a parliament were, as those attached to the Crown, saleable. Lewis therefore was soon enabled to fill a great number of these with devoted adherents; and by cleverly turning to good account the jealousy felt by each parliament for the other, he soon rendered it impossible for them to take common action in rejecting a royal mandate.

France did not come out unscathed from the war ended by the peace of Nimwegen. The ambition of its monarch had impoverished the country. The agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and colonial interests had all suffered. The conditions of peace were advantageous to France as regarded her territory and military power; but, on the other hand, the protective duties on which the manufacturers, especially those of woollen goods and silk, had relied, were relaxed in favour of Holland and England.

Lewis's inordinate ambition and firm belief in the divine right of kings combined to make him desire to see himself at the head of Europe, not as king of France only, but as Emperor, and king of Spain. France, though impoverished, had great natural resources, and Colbert was there to provide funds, Louvois to look to the 'matériel' of his army, Vauban to build his fortresses. One man only stood in Lewis's way, William of Orange.

SECTION IV.—*The United Provinces and William of Orange.*

William of Orange was born November 4, 1650, eight days after the death of his father, the Stadtholder of the United Provinces of Holland. A strong party, opposed to the idea of the Stadtholdership being hereditary in the house of Orange, endeavoured for some years to carry on the government. But Holland thus became divided against itself, and an easy prey therefore to its enemies. Seven provinces with independent provincial assemblies, sending members to the States General, afforded a fine field for French diplomacy. In a few years the meetings of the States General were scenes of confusion. To add to the difficulties which stood in the way of unanimity, there were eighteen cities in Holland, governed each by a municipal council, and each of these claimed an independent voice in many affairs of state. The character of William had, young as he was, become known, and in 1672, Zealand, followed soon after by the other provinces, chose him Stadtholder. The French had invaded Holland, and William took desperate measures to drive them out of his country. He appealed to the patriotism of his countrymen, the dykes were burst open, the whole country was flooded, and the French were forced to beat a speedy retreat. For six years the war continued, and Holland, at first almost ruined, had, at the peace of Nimwegen, preserved its independence and its territory, had gained commercial advantages, and had won the respect of Europe. William had also established his reputation. He had shown himself, under a cold, calm exterior, to be capable of originating bold designs, and of tenaciously carrying them out. He had proved himself as a diplomatist second to none. He had already gained a hold on

The United Provinces choose William as Stadtholder, 1672.

the German powers which he presently used to good effect.

William, a Calvinist, the upholder of civil and religious liberty, was naturally hated by Lewis, a bigoted Catholic and maintainer of despotism. William, well aware of this antipathy, was also a farsighted statesman, who saw that among the many projects of Lewis's ambition, not the most difficult to be realised was that of making the whole of Western Europe subservient to France. For if England entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Lewis, and placed its naval resources at his disposal, then Western Europe would be at his feet. Lewis therefore directed all his intrigues to gain England to his side, William worked as strenuously to frustrate those intrigues. William and Lewis.

By William's marriage, he acquired a right to be consulted on England's foreign policy, for Charles, the king, was childless, and his only brother, James, had as yet but two children, both daughters, and of them Mary was the elder. William's wife therefore stood not far from the succession. William had many warm friends amongst the liberal-minded and patriotic men there were in the English nobility, although these were few in number, and already (in 1678) had gained influence among English statesmen. This influence it was the great aim of Lewis to destroy. He instructed his ambassador, Barillon, to work on Charles's love of pleasure and want of money; to work on the religious feelings of James, who had now the enthusiasm of a convert to Roman Catholicism, and also on his hatred of constitutional liberty; to work on the courtiers by bribery, and by encouraging their jealousies one of the other; to work on the English people by stirring up the spirit of persecution, by pitting Protestant against Papist, by sowing enmity between the country and the court. And well Barillon did his work. The history of

the last seven years of the reign of Charles II. of England cannot be understood unless we remember that Charles and his statesmen were but the puppets of the show, that Barillon was the underling who pulled the strings, and that Lewis XIV. was the director, whilst William of Orange sat looking on, a quiet, but by no means unobservant, spectator.

SECTION V.—*Germany and Spain; Emperor Leopold and Charles II. of Spain.*

Germany, already exhausted by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), had suffered much in the war with France, now ended by the Peace of Nimwegen. It was true that no province had been lost, and that Lothringen (Lorraine) again formed a state of the empire; but the breathing time, so necessary for it to recover from its frightful losses, had been interrupted; the power of the Diet had been weakened, the bonds which united the various states, never tight, were now more slackened. Lewis had gained over electors and princes of the empire, by money, by promises of increased dominions, and by flattery; and he had no occasion to trouble himself about the German people. For the German people could be hardly said to exist. Germany was now composed of numerous small courts, numerous small armies, and half-starved wretched peasants. The towns were half depopulated, and the middle class was almost annihilated.

Germany.

The Emperor Leopold was both mentally and morally a weak man. Of the house of Hapsburg, duke of Austria, and king of Bohemia and of Hungary, he had no real power in the empire. Swayed hither and thither, as the interest of the moment seemed to direct him, he had been at one time the tool of Lewis, but now he leant on William of Orange,

Leopold.

for support. Lewis's designs on the empire were so manifest that Leopold, with the greatest tenacity his nature permitted, joined William in his plans for counteracting them.

Spain was fallen from its high position. The kingdom was impoverished. The wealth of its American colonies had not enriched the state. Its best blood had been drained away. Every adventurous spirit had been enthralled by the desire of becoming rich. Its court was the victim of state etiquette. Its nobles were ill-educated and the slaves of the priests. Its race of statesmen and warriors had died out. Its king, Charles II., was a sickly and feeble boy of thirteen years of age. Spain.

So the conditions of the Peace of Nimwegen compelled Spain to pay. As we have said above (p. 5), Franche Comté, and some of Spain's best provinces in the Netherlands fell to the share of Lewis.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1678 AND 1679.

SECTION I.—*England in* 1678.

LEWIS XIV. wished to gain England to his side. He endeavoured therefore to undermine William's influence and sow dissension in the nation; but England, to be of use to him, must not be weakened. 1678.
The stronger the nation was, the more help it could afford him. He hoped by destroying popular government, and by restoring the Catholic religion in England, to make it both a strong and ready tool in his hands.

The affairs of the two kingdoms, England and Scotland, will for a time occupy our attention.

The news of the Peace of Nimwegen was received in England with mingled joy and discontent. Englishmen

were glad that William of Orange, the Stadtholder, the nephew, by marriage, of their king, had come out of his great struggle with Lewis with unreduced dominions, and with increased weight in the councils of Europe. But there was discontent for three reasons. First, because the national pride was wounded. In the time of Cromwell, just twenty years ago, England had been the most respected European power, the one power which France courted. It had defeated the navies of Holland and Spain ; it had been the great upholder of the Protestant cause, as William of Orange now was; and now this glory had passed away. The second reason for discontent was the fear for the cause of civil liberty. It was rumoured that treaties and arrangements had been entered into by the English king with Lewis XIV., which had for their object the subversion of the constitution by the aid of foreign troops. Charles had raised troops nominally to aid William of Orange; but these troops had, by Barillon's intrigues, been kept back, and were in England, not as yet disbanded. So the old English feeling of distrust of a standing army was aggravated by the fear that French forces might be sent to join those raised by Charles in coercing Parliament. But there was a third reason for discontent in the general hatred felt for Roman Catholicism. Puritans and churchmen were united in this hatred ; it was their one bond of union. The activity shown by the Roman Catholics seemed to justify this hatred. Jesuit priests were known to be intriguing at court ; the king was suspected of an inclination to papistry ; the Duke of York, the heir presumptive, was a declared Roman Catholic, and had married for his second wife the Princess Mary of Modena, also a Roman Catholic. At the same time Lewis XIV., the adviser of Charles, had already begun on a small scale those persecutions of Protestants which

Discontent in England in 1678.

in a few years after he carried out in such a manner as to drive the Protestants of England and Holland wild with anger.

This popular discontent found two vents for its expression; the one in an attempt to drive Roman Catholicism from the kingdom, and to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne; the other in the impeachment of the minister, Lord Danby.

How the discontent is manifested.

Section II.—*The Minister and the leader of the Opposition.*

Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, was the minister to whom Charles II. had at this time entrusted the chief direction of affairs; the leader of the Opposition was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

English statesmen.

Political immorality was as prevalent among English, as among continental, statesmen. The use of bribery was general. If at any time the expression used in later days by an English statesman that 'every man has his price,' was true, it was true in the time of Charles II. One or two rare exceptions there were, but statesmen who were considered upright, and patriots who were famed for their public spirit, condescended to receive 'pensions' from Lewis XIV. for themselves, and to bribe members of Parliament. This was done with so little reserve as to make it evident that conscientious men looked on giving and receiving bribes in another light than that in which we are now accustomed to view such a crime.

Osborne, Lord Danby, was not beyond his age. Of good business powers, and ready in debate, he tried to make parliament subservient to his views by purchasing it wholesale. Himself fond of money, he measured everyone by his own standard. So thoroughly did he carry out his plan that the parliament

Lord Danby.

which was sitting in 1678, which had, in fact, been sitting since 1661, has earned for itself in history the name of 'Pension Parliament.' Danby's own political views were moderate. He was a Protestant, but not a Puritan; an upholder of the monarchy, but no lover of arbitrary power; an adherent of the Stuarts, but no mere courtier.

Lord Shaftesbury.

Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, began public life as a royalist, and then united himself to the party of the Commonwealth. During Richard Cromwell's brief protectorate he had joined Monk in his successful plot for the restoration of the Stuarts. Dryden in his satire of 'Absalom and Achitophel' thus describes Shaftesbury under the character of Achitophel:

> For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
> Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit,
> Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
> In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace.

Although written by a political and religious opponent, history admits the justice of this description.

Section III.—*The Popish Plot.*

On August 13, 1678, three days after the signing of the Peace of Nimwegen, Charles II. received a warning not to walk unaccompanied in the Park, nor to expose his person heedlessly, 'for that his death was determined on.'

Titus Oates.

This information was traced through various channels to one Titus Oates. Oates was on September 28 brought before the privy council.

Had it not been for the prevalent feeling of distrust and hatred of the Roman Catholics, the personal appearance and previous career of Oates would have been conclusive evidence of the falseness of his story. The son of an Anabaptist, he had early in life conformed to the Church of England, been admitted to holy orders and

presented to a living. This he had been compelled to resign, on a charge of perjury, and of using blasphemous expressions. He next obtained a chaplaincy on board a man-of-war, but was dismissed his ship for disgraceful behaviour. Professing then to be a convert to Roman Catholicism, he joined the English college at St. Omer, in France. His present story was that he had been entrusted by the highest Romish authorities with letters, written by the Pope himself, the purport of which was to excite the Catholics to compass the death of King Charles by any means. He added that meetings had been already held in London for that purpose; and that Coleman, the Roman Catholic secretary of the Roman Catholic Duke of York, and Father la Chaise, the confessor of Lewis XIV. (whom Oates always calls Father Le Shee) were the persons through whom the necessary correspondence was carried on.

Coleman's house was immediately searched. He had partly destroyed his papers, but some were found containing doubtful expressions (doubtful, that is, as to loyalty, but perfectly natural under the circumstances), setting forth the great hopes which the Catholics in England entertained for the future, when the Duke of York would be king, and Lewis XIV. would be able to afford them more active assistance.

In addition to Coleman, Oates accused Wakeman the queen's private physician, who was also a Roman Catholic.

In the course of his story Oates said that he had been sent through Spain, previously to his coming to England, and that there he had an interview with Don John of Austria, the young King of Spain's minister, who had promised to aid the English Catholics in the execution of their designs. Charles, who was present at Oates's examination and was incredulous asked Oates what sort of a man

Don John was. Oates replied, 'a tall, lean man.' This answer amused Charles, for Don John was very short and fat, and made him still more incredulous of the tale.

But the country received Oates's story as gospel.

Oates, after his examination before the privy council, went to Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had been knighted for his exertions during the great plague, and made a deposition on oath of the truth of his statements. A few days after, the servants of Sir Edmondsbury were surprised at their master not returning to dinner at his usual hour ; they waited for him the whole afternoon, and at night sent to tell his brothers of his absence from home. Nothing was heard of him that night (Saturday), but on the following Wednesday morning his body was found in a ditch in some fields, near London, now occupied by the Regent's Park. From the marks on the corpse it appeared that the victim had been first strangled, and that some time after death his own sword had been run through him, the sword remaining in the body. His money was untouched. The body lay exposed to the public view for two days, and at the funeral strange scenes of excitement took place. Three persons of the queen's household were afterwards tried and executed for the murder, but on perjured and insufficient evidence. An attempt was also made some time after to prove that Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey had committed suicide, but this failed. Two hypotheses to account for the murder, both probable, remain. The one is that the knight was murdered by zealous Papists to intimidate those who were taking active measures to investigate the alleged Popish Plot ; the other is that the deed was committed by the orders of some of those whose interest it was to provoke more strongly the prevalent Protestant antipathy to the Duke of York and

Murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey.

the Roman Catholics. It has also been stated, but no proof has been offered, that the murder was committed by some of Oates's gang to add credibility to their statement.

The popular excitement now rose to the highest pitch. Parliament had met in session. Even if Danby had attempted to bribe, the venal members were no longer to be bought. A Committee of the House was appointed to enquire into the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey and into Oates's disclosures. A day was set apart for a solemn fast. A bill was hurriedly carried through both Houses 'for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.' The intention of Shaftesbury and the Opposition evidently was to prepare the way for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne, but a special exemption clause was inserted in the bill (partly on the personal appeal to the House of Lords of the duke, who spoke 'with great earnestness and with tears in his eyes') which ran as follows, 'Provided always that nothing in this Act contained shall extend to his Royal Highness the Duke of York.' To deal a héavier blow against Roman Catholics, it was also determined that an oath of allegiance to the king, and a declaration of the idolatry of masses should be made by all holders of office under the Crown, as a test that they were untainted by Popery.

Bill against Papists carried in Parliament.

The Committee of the House of Commons examined Oates, and another witness, one Bedlow, a man of notoriously bad character, who now came forward to corroborate Oates's statements. They reported the actual existence of a Popish Plot, having for its object the death of the king and the destruction of the Protestant religion. Oates and his accomplice no longer contented themselves with accusing

Oates makes further disclosures.

such inferior persons as secretaries, priests, and physicians, but named five Roman Catholic peers, Lords Powys, Bellasis, Stafford, Petre, and Arundel, who were straightway committed to the Tower. Oates insinuated, Bedlow more than insinuated, that the queen herself was privy to the plot. Charles had acted throughout with duplicity, publicly professing belief in the plot, but to his intimates treating it as a joke, and saying 'he was accused of being in a plot against his own life;' but this accusation against the queen was more than even he could brook, and this portion of the evidence was therefore not touched upon.

Coleman was tried and executed, as were also three Romish priests.

The trade of witness or informer brought so much consideration from the vulgar, and such flattering hopes of pay from the gratitude of the nation, that many were now found to join Oates and Bedlow. Among the more prominent of these was Carstairs, a man who had already earned notoriety by acting as a spy on those who had, in Scotland, been holding conventicles, contrary to the law.

More informers arise.

The expectations of Oates and his accomplices were not unfulfilled. In a few weeks Oates had apartments assigned to him in Whitehall, a guard was appointed to preserve him from the Papists supposed to be thirsting for his blood, and a pension of 1,200*l.* a year was granted to him. The inferior agents were also well cared for.

For the sake of preserving popularity Charles made no attempt, nor did he allow Danby to make any, to quell the popular excitement. In the trials that took place from the numerous accusations laid by the informers, the conduct of the judges must not be overlooked. The servility of those who sat on the bench, and the shameless way in which they

Servility of the judges.

obeyed the dictates of the court, disgraced the name of justice. Scroggs, the lord chief justice, distinguished himself in bullying the witnesses for the defence and in pressing for convictions, and showed such zeal and heartiness for 'the Protestant cause,' that he shared with Oates the honour of popular applause. He had been raised by Danby to the post he held, and was not fitted for it either by ability, legal attainments, or decency of life.

Chief Justice Scroggs.

SECTION IV.—*Fall of the Earl of Danby.*

Whilst the public mind was inflamed by the discovery of these various Popish plots, fresh fuel was added to the excitement by Ralph Montague presenting to the House of Commons certain letters which had passed through his hands from Lord Danby to Lewis XIV., asking for money. Montague was the representative of England at the court of France. Lewis had been deeply annoyed at the vacillations of Charles in the negotiations which preceded the Peace of Nimwegen, and laid on Danby the blame of his master's indecision. In revenge he now therefore urged Montague by bribes and other persuasions to betray Danby. Montague came to England, appeared in parliament, in which he had a seat, and read two letters; one of these, signed by Danby, made an offer to Lewis that Charles would be neutral in the war if a pension of 600,000 livres (about 24,000*l.*) were paid him for the next three years. At the end of a letter was a postscript in Charles's own hand agreeing to the terms. The house was no longer under the minister's control. The impeachment of Lord Danby was proposed.

Montague's disclosures to the House.

Danby's defence was that the king alone had, by law, power to declare war or to make peace; that his duty was to obey his sovereign in all things lawful, and that in this case he had no alternative.

Danby impeached.

But the Opposition carried the day. On December 19, 1678, the impeachment was voted by 179 votes to 116, and the charges against Danby were read at the bar of the House of Lords.

The charges in the impeachment really only amounted to a misdemeanour, but in the Upper House a motion was made that Danby should be committed to the Tower on a charge of treason; but this motion was not carried, although Shaftesbury pressed its adoption. The plea under which it was sought to commit Danby was, that the word 'traitorously' appeared in the impeachment presented by the Commons. But the majority in the House of Lords rejected the motion for his committal, on the grounds (and solid grounds they appear), that if the Commons by the insertion of a word could convert a misdemeanour into a treason, they became judges as well as accusers.

Charles now determined on dissolving the parliament, in the hope of putting an end to Danby's prosecution, and preventing the disclosure of any further proofs of the intrigues he had been engaged in with the King of France. The 'Pension Parliament' was consequently dissolved January 1679, and a new parliament was summoned for March. The elections 'went almost everywhere against the court.'

1679.

Dissolution of the 'Pension Parliament.'

The Duke of York, afraid that his presence in London might foment the angry feelings of the capital, left England for Brussels, accompanied by his wife. But before his departure Charles, on his earnest entreaty, made a solemn declaration before the privy council, that he had never been married, nor had made a contract of marriage with any woman whatsoever save his wife Queen Catherine.

Charles declares Queen Catherine to have been his only wife.

The object of this declaration was to put an end to the pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest of King Charles's natural children, whose mother, Lucy Walters, was popularly supposed to have been married to Charles whilst he was a refugee at the Hague. The proofs of this marriage were supposed to be concealed in a certain 'black box,' to which constant allusions will be found in the pamphlets of the period. The Duke of Monmouth (the Absalom of Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel') was eminently fitted to attract popular sympathy. He was at an early age wedded to the richest heiress of her day, the Lady Anne Scott, who inherited the vast property of the house of Buccleuch. Of a handsome person, of pleasant and winning manners, of tried bravery, the beloved of Protestants and country gentlemen, he was used as a tool by Shaftesbury for the purpose of crushing the Duke of York. On James's retirement from England, Monmouth for a few months became the petted idol of the court.

Duke of Monmouth.

SECTION V.—*The third Parliament of Charles II. (Habeas Corpus Act).*

Charles, on Danby's fall, called to his councils Sir William Temple, who had been one of the chief negotiators of the Nimwegen peace. Temple was a man not only of the most cultivated mind, but also of the strictest integrity; he never hesitated to speak the truth to the pleasure-loving Charles, nor to retire from public affairs when his country's welfare or his personal honour demanded. Since the Restoration (1660) he had been employed in diplomacy on the Continent, and had never sat in the House of Commons. In one respect this was a drawback, as he was unable to enter into the feelings and susceptibilities of the House; in another respect it was a gain, since to his name could not be attached the odious epithet of 'pensionary.'

Sir William Temple.

Sir William Temple's first measure was a novel one; he reconstituted the privy council. It was to consist of thirty members. Fifteen of these were to be the ministers and officers of state, the remaining fifteen to be noblemen and gentlemen of high standing. The measure was at first most popular. It was thought by the one party that it would prevent the encroachments of parliament on the prerogatives of the Crown, by the other party that it would hinder the attacks of the Crown on the independence of parliament. Shaftesbury was chosen president, so that he now filled the anomalous position of lord president of the privy council and leader of the Opposition in parliament.

Reconstitution of the Privy Council.

But the new privy council was soon found too numerous and too divided in opinions to fulfil the purpose of a working council for the king. Charles therefore chose from the council four confidential advisers: Temple, Capel Earl of Essex, Spencer Earl of Sunderland, and Savile Viscount Halifax. These formed, what in the present day is called, the Cabinet.

From that a Cabinet is formed.

Essex was a politician of good intentions and of honourable character, and had therefore gained the respect of Temple.

Lord Essex.

Sunderland was the product of his day. Clever and unprincipled, he had for years resided at the court of Lewis as envoy of England, and had there become an adept in intrigues, both political and social.

Lord Sunderland.

Halifax was a man of great intellectual powers. His natural disposition was kind and tolerant, and this, joined to his keen appreciation of probable results, made him take a broad and moderate view of party politics. Hence his policy always tended to

Lord Halifax.

avoid extreme measures, and he consequently received the nickname of 'Trimmer.' The same name was applied to all those who followed him in attempting to hold a middle course between the court and country factions, the two great parties of the day. Halifax's political morality was expediency. Whatever party best served present purposes he joined; and he found no difficulties in changing from one side to the other, for his personal dislikes were reserved for those only who were violent and immoderate partisans.

But this choice of a small body out of the council was deeply resented by most of the other members, and Shaftesbury prepared a most active opposition to the ministry. Parliament met on March 6. The first contest took place on the choice of a Speaker of the House of Commons. The king nominated a member to fill the chair; the Opposition claimed for the Commons the right of election, asserting that the only power which the Crown had was to confirm their choice. The Opposition gained the day. After a hot debate, lasting for a week, it was agreed that the right of election was with the House, and that the confirmation by the king followed as a matter of course. This debate at once served to show Charles and his advisers the temper of the House.

Parliament meets. Strong opposition to the court.

When this matter had been settled, the Commons took up again the impeachment of Lord Danby. On finding the proceedings renewed, Danby prepared for flight; but, on being advised that if he fled, an act of attainder might be passed against him, he surrendered. He now pleaded there could be no prosecution, as he held a pardon from the king. Charles had not only granted him a free pardon, but had also given him a warrant raising him to the rank of Marquis of Carmarthen. This enraged the Opposition,

Danby's impeachment resumed.

who formed the majority in the Commons. They appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and demanded judgment against Danby, whose plea, said they, was void. They also denied the right of the bishops to vote on the validity of the pardon, arguing that if the pardon was not valid, and if Danby were then to be convicted of treason, death would be the punishment, and spiritual lords could not legally vote on questions of life and death. The Lords discussed the questions raised by the Commons; they agreed to appoint a Committee of the two Houses to regulate the manner of the impeachment, but they resolved that the lords spiritual had a right to sit and vote in all cases until the actual question of life and death was before the House.

But the impeachment of Danby was a secondary matter to the great object of Shaftesbury and the Opposition, which was the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne, as being a Roman Catholic. The second reading of a bill, to effect this object, was carried on May 21 in the Commons by 207 votes against 128.

Second reading of Exclusion Bill passes the Commons.

On May 27 Charles, acting by the advice of Temple, who feared the temper of the Commons, prorogued the parliament, and soon after by proclamation dissolved it. But this did not take place until the king had given an unwilling assent to the passing of an Act, commonly called the Habeas Corpus Act. Charles assented in order not to provoke a more active hostility to the court in the elections now pending. The Act requires a judge, on application, to issue an order to any jailor to produce the body (habeas corpus) of a prisoner; when, if the offence with which he is charged is bailable, and he can give security that he will appear in a court of law to answer

Habeas Corpus Act. Dissolution of the third Parliament of Charles II.

the charge, he is set free until the trial. The Act also prevents anyone from being sent to prison 'beyond the seas;' it orders every prisoner to be indicted in the first law term after his commitment, and to be brought to trial at latest in the subsequent term. No man, it enacts, after being enlarged, can be recommitted for the same offence. This Act is one which has done much in preserving the liberties of Englishmen, but it is no addition to the constitutional law of our country. The same rights existed before, but they had been impaired through the criminal servility of the judges and the tyranny of the Crown. The Habeas Corpus Act only *re-enacted* and *re-asserted* the rights and privileges of every Englishman. Blackstone does indeed say in his Commentaries, 'The point of time at which I would choose to fix the *theoretical* perfection of our public law, is the year 1679, after the Habeas Corpus Act was passed, though the years which immediately followed it were times of great *practical* oppression.' But he also admits the Act was needed only on account of the 'pitiful evasions' of judges and court lawyers.

Popish trials continued.

Meantime the trials of those accused by Oates and his accomplices were continued during the spring and summer. Twelve persons were found guilty and executed. Wakeman, the queen's physician, was acquitted.

SECTION VI.—*Whigs and Tories.*

Charles fourth Parliament elected, but prorogued.

In the months of August and September the elections for the new parliament were going on, and the candidates supported by the court were generally defeated. It was evident that the new parliament would meet with a greater majority against the ministers than the last one. Charles placed but little confidence even in his selected ministers

Fearing that he should find the new parliament uncompromising, he had already entered into fresh and secret negotiations with Lewis. He begged him not to lose this opportunity of making England for ever dependent upon France. A treaty was therefore entered into. On condition that a pension of 1,000,000 livres (about 40,000*l.*) was paid to him annually, for the space of three years, Charles agreed not to assemble parliament during that time. He consequently prorogued the new parliament immediately on its meeting in October, without the consent, or without having asked the consent, of his council.

Secret treaty with Lewis.

Temple, Essex, and Halifax resigned their offices. Sunderland, who never willingly resigned a place, retained his. The new ministers chosen by the king were Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, and Sidney Godolphin, Earl of Godolphin. Rochester was a brother of the first Duchess of York, a Cavalier as well in politics as in habits of life: a strong adherent of Church principles, he both drank hard and lived hard.

Resignation of Temple, Essex, and Halifax. Rochester and Godolphin take their places.

Godolphin was a clever and cool-headed courtier, and an enthusiastic sportsman. His political principles sat easily upon him. He was a Trimmer, not upon conviction as Halifax was, but from interest. He cared only for office, horse-racing, and cock-fighting.

Rochester and Sunderland endeavoured to persuade Charles to break off his negotiations with Lewis, and to summon the parliament, but the prorogation had been already announced, and Charles was unwilling to run the risk of offending Lewis, and of having the Exclusion Bill thrust upon him.

The Duke of Monmouth had been acting as the king's representative in Scotland, but Shaftesbury sent for him to return, for the king was not well. His arrival in

London was celebrated by popular rejoicings. The Duke of York, hearing of Monmouth's presence at court, hastily set off from Brussels, and hurried to Windsor, where Charles lay seriously ill. The king, as the only chance of preserving peace, ordered Monmouth off to Holland, and sent James to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner. He also dismissed Shaftesbury from the presidency of the council.

James and Monmouth.

Shaftesbury in revenge took still more active steps in exciting the country to clamour for the Exclusion Bill. The anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, November 17, was celebrated throughout England with extraordinary manifestations. Loud and deep were the execrations hurled against Papists and all who were supposed to have any sympathies with Rome; the effigies of the Pope and the Duke of York were publicly burnt; and a 'black box' was carried about in triumph. On November 28 Monmouth appeared suddenly in London, and although ordered by the king to return again to Holland, he obstinately remained. Addresses were signed in every county, and in every borough, praying the king to call parliament together at an early day. Shaftesbury and the Opposition consequently received the name of 'Addressers.' The ministers and the court met these addresses by obtaining counter addresses to the king, expressing abhorrence of such proceedings, as tending to interfere with the king's prerogative of summoning and proroguing parliament. They were therefore entitled 'Abhorrers.'

Shaftesbury dismissed from the Presidency of the Council.

Addressers and Abhorrers.

But these party names were speedily changed into the now familiar ones of Whigs and Tories. The Opposition were nicknamed Whigs, a term of reproach which had been originally applied to the strictest sect of Scottish covenanters, and is said to have

Whigs and Tories.

been a local expression in Galloway for sour whey. The court party were called Tories, a name borrowed from the most wild and savage of the Irish outlaws.

From this period the two great political parties in England have been called by these names; and students may consider the Whigs as 'ranged under the banner of liberty,' the Tories under that of 'loyalty;' the Whigs as seeking the security of the constitution 'by new maxims of government,' the Tories 'by an adherence to the old.'

SECTION VII.—*Meal-tub Plot.*

Oates's time of prosperity was not at an end, although the public enthusiasm in his favour had begun to turn. The trade of discoverer of plots still seemed a lucrative one, and a man named Dangerfield, a profligate scoundrel, who had been branded, whipped, and imprisoned for felony, now appeared on the scene. Prompted probably by some hangers-on of the Duke of York, he discovered to him a supposed conspiracy of the Presbyterian party, to put the king to death and to seize on the government. Being rewarded by Charles and James, he proposed to substantiate the truth of his statement by papers which were concealed in the house of Colonel Mansel, a Presbyterian. The house was searched and the papers were found, but their forgery was so apparent that no one could be misled by them, and it was easily proved by Colonel Mansel that Dangerfield had access to the room in which they were found. The alleged Presbyterian plot came to nothing, but the scoundrel now turned on his employers. He swore that the pretended plot was invented in order to disguise a real one; that this real plot was a Catholic one, and that not the Presbyterians but the Roman Catholics were the culprits. He declared that the papers which would prove the real plot, were concealed in a *meal-tub* in the house of a Mrs. Collins, who had been in the employment

A new informer, Dangerfield.

of Lady Powys, wife of one of the five Roman Catholic peers now in the Tower. The papers were found. Lady Powys and Mrs. Collins were arrested. The former was soon discharged, the grand jury ignoring the bill against her; the latter was tried and acquitted.

The panic caused by the murder of Godfrey was evidently subsiding, and the popular faith in informers beginning to wane.

SECTION VIII.— *The Conventiclers in Scotland.*

Before England and Scotland were under one king, it was the obvious policy of an enemy of England to stir up strife between the two nations; and even now, when the same king ruled over both nations, the danger had not passed away, for jealousy still remained to divide them. The Scotch were jealous lest their peculiar laws and customs should be changed, and their independence taken from them. The English were jealous lest their trade should suffer by the Scotch being allowed to participate in it on equal terms. England was weakened whenever Scotland was in a state of disquiet, and as Lewis XIV. did not wish the influence of England on the Continent diminished, he, through his ambassador, urged on Charles the necessity of keeping Scotland tranquil. Now there were two means of pacifying Scotland, — conciliation, or severity. Lewis's belief in absolute monarchy led him to recommend the latter.

Mutual relations of England and Scotland.

Episcopacy had been introduced for the second time into Scotland at the Restoration. But although the monarchy was popular in Scotland, the Church of England was not, and in spite of the warnings of those Scotchmen who knew their countrymen best, Charles and his advisers were bent on forcing the English Church on the people. The first Lord High

Scotch hatred of episcopacy

Commissioner, Lord Middleton, had allowed considerable latitude to the clergy in their conforming to the Church; but the Duke of Lauderdale, who had succeeded him, had induced the subservient Scotch parliament (virtually nominees of the Crown) to pass more and more severe laws against Presbyterianism, so that its followers, driven from their chapels, had to hold their meetings by night, on the moorside or in the forests.

An insurrection of the Presbyterians had broken out in 1666 and had been suppressed. In 1668 Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Orkney, were shot at. The bishop was wounded, the assassin escaped, but the archbishop had marked well his appearance. Six years afterwards the archbishop recognised in one Mitchell, a shopkeeper and noted Presbyterian, the features of the man who had shot at him. Mitchell was brought before the privy council, and under the promise that his life should be spared was induced to confess. The archbishop insisted on his execution. In order to extract from him the names of his accomplices, if he had any, the poor wretch was several times put to the torture, the archbishop himself actively assisting. Then he was placed for some time in solitary confinement, and afterwards, contrary to the promise made him, and in deference to the archbishop's wish, he was executed.

Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews.

Lauderdale and the archbishop forthwith carried persecution to its utmost limits. The Presbyterians, or conventiclers as they were called, were set upon by dragoons at their meetings on the hillsides, and so in self-defence they carried with them their swords as well as their Bibles. Resistance was sure to bring upon them the vengeance of the wild Highland troopers. But in the Western Lowlands, in Galloway, Ayrshire, Kircudbrightshire, Dumfries, where the hills

The Presbyterians rise.

are rugged and wild, and the towns are few and far between, where the farmers and peasants have always been characterised by a sturdy spirit of independence, and where the names of Prelatist and Papist were held equally accursed, resistance to Lauderdale and his proud archbishop was openly proclaimed.

'The Highland host came upon them.' So the insurgents designated the large bodies of fierce Highlanders, speaking no language but Gaelic, obeying no law but that of their chiefs, who were sent to live in free quarters among them.

Highlanders are quartered on them.

The conventiclers were goaded into revenge. As, so argued they, Jael's murder of Sisera was acceptable to God, in like manner it would be a worthy deed to compass the death of those who persecuted the Lord's saints. Carmichael, the commissioner of the council, and Archbishop Sharp, had by their activity rendered themselves particularly hateful. So a band of fanatics, animated by religious enthusiasm, determined on their murder. Carmichael, 'the cruel, bloody man,' escaped, but on Magus Muir, five miles west of St. Andrews, they came upon Sharp. He was in his carriage accompanied by his daughter. Shouting 'Judas, come forth,' they dragged him from the coach, and, despite his own entreaties and offers of money, despite the tears, and prayers, and personal struggles of his daughter, they put him to death before her eyes. Then solemnly thanking God for His aid in accomplishing the deed, and leaving on the moor the body of him who had never shown any mercy and to whom no mercy was shown, they made all haste to the West to rouse their brethren to arms.

May 3. Murder of Archbishop Sharp.

The Highlanders had just been withdrawn, when intelligence was brought to the council that Sharp had been murdered, and that the murderers had escaped to

the West. They learnt also that the murderers had been reinforced, and at a village called Rutherglen had burnt the obnoxious acts of parliament which favoured episcopacy and placed a declaration of hostility in the market-place.

Graham of Claverhouse defeated at Drumclog, June 1.

Graham of Claverhouse was stationed at Glasgow with three troops of horse which he had himself raised. Graham was a kinsman of Montrose, who had lost his life in the cause of loyalty, and whose deeds he was desirous of emulating. He had served first in the French army, and had then joined the guards of the Prince of Orange, and had been distinguished for his coolness and bravery. Putting himself at the head of his troops, he marched out of Glasgow to punish the murderers and their fanatical followers. The conventiclers, about 600 in number, armed for the most part with pikes and pitchforks, were posted on a rising ground protected on the two flanks and the front by a marsh, near the village of Drumclog. Graham, not taking the trouble to form his men, attacked the insurgents with rash impetuosity, and, embarrassed by the boggy ground, in which his horses stuck fast, was beaten off with considerable loss.

The conventiclers daily received large reinforcements, so the troopers drew off towards Edinburgh. By Lauderdale's advice, all the king's troops in Scotland were concentrated near the capital. Monmouth, who was at present Charles's representative in Scotland, took the command of the royal army. The conventiclers, whose numbers were now about 4,000, had advanced to Bothwell Moor, near Hamilton. Here they were

Battle of Bothwell Brigg. June 22.

met by Monmouth at the head of 5,000 regular troops. The insurgents were posted in a strong position, with the Clyde flowing between them and Monmouth's army. But there was a bridge over the river, and this bridge they had not destroyed.

They were unprovided with cannon, whilst Monmouth had a strong force of artillery. Monmouth brought his guns to bear upon the bridge, and after a steady resistance on the part of the rebels, cleared the way for the passage of his soldiers. The insurgents retreated in good order to a hill near, called Hamilton Heath. Here the dragoons, eager to avenge their former defeat, twice charged them, and each time were driven back. Then a body of the hated Highlanders made one of their fierce onslaughts on them, but with no effect. The ammunition of the conventiclers began, however, to fail. Artillery, when once posted in battle, were as yet not easily moved; but Monmouth, with considerable difficulty, got his guns, which had been turned on the bridge, again into position, and their fire completed the discomfiture of the conventiclers. They gave way, then retreated, and then fled, for retreat soon changes into flight with irregular and ill-trained troops. Claverhouse and his troopers, eager for vengeance, charged amongst the panic-stricken fugitives, and, disdaining to make prisoners, butchered them unrelentingly. Monmouth in vain endeavoured to restrain them. Graham earned well his name of 'bloody Claverhouse.' About 1,200 of the rebels laid down their arms. For these Monmouth tried to get as good terms as possible from Lauderdale and the servile Scotch parliament. Monmouth's clemency was reported in London.

Cruel treatment of the survivors.

It was at this juncture that Charles's illness took place, and Monmouth was hastily summoned by Shaftesbury to England.

The Duke of York arrived in Scotland as Lord High Commissioner. A Roman Catholic himself, James hated Presbyterianism with a hatred more intense than that of the most devoted adherent to 'Church and State' principles. The cruelties

James in Scotland.

committed by the privy council when he was at its head, are almost incredible. Anyone suspected of having given refuge to a conventicler, or anyone thought to be unfriendly to the government or episcopacy, was liable to be put to the question before the council. Confessions extorted by torture from some were made use of against others whom the government deemed disloyal. Neither age nor sex insured safety.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH PARLIAMENTS OF CHARLES II. AND THE STATE TRIALS OF 1681.

SECTION I.—*Exclusion Bill.*

ALL through the winter of 1679 and the spring of 1680, Lewis, through his ambassador Barillon, endeavoured in turn to cheat each of the political parties in England. He assured Charles he was the only friend on whom he could rely, and exhorted him to govern without summoning a parliament. He expressed to James his approval of his conduct in Scotland. He told Shaftesbury and the Whigs, that if civil war were forced on them by the obstinacy of the king, France might be reckoned on for support.

1680. **Lewis and English parties.**

In February 1680, James left Scotland to pay his brother a visit at Windsor. He soon gained a complete ascendancy over Charles. This became apparent to Shaftesbury, who determined once for all to put an end to the influence of the Duke of York. He therefore (June 26) presented James before the grand jury at Westminster as a 'Popish recusant.' Some of the judges who were present

Duke of York presented as a recusant.

on the bench, in alarm asked Shaftesbury to retire with them into a private room for conference. During their absence the Lord Chief Justice took upon himself the bold step of discharging the grand jury, and thus quashing the proceeding.

Monmouth in the meantime was making a progress as a royal prince in the West of England, and, in spite of Charles's declaration of his illegitimacy, was received everywhere with joy. Nothing could shake the faith of the people in their 'idol, the Protestant Duke.'

Monmouth's progress.

The king began to tire of his brother's unpopularity. The Whigs became more and more outspoken, and Charles saw before him no alternative but summoning the parliament and sending James back to Scotland as quickly as possible. The Duke of York therefore returned to the North, and the fourth parliament, which had been elected a year previously, met for business on October 21.

Fourth Parliament meets. October 21

Godolphin and Sunderland urged the king to consent to the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession, if it should be again brought forward. A bargain was now being struck between Charles and the Whig Opposition. If Charles had been trustworthy the Exclusion Bill would have passed The proposed agreement was, that in consideration of the Commons voting the king a large supply of money, the bill should have his sanction. But Charles wished the supplies to be voted first, and then the consideration of the Exclusion Bill to follow. Shaftesbury and his party knew, that if this were conceded, Charles would throw them over, and so the compromise fell through. On November 11 the Commons passed the Bill excluding the Duke of York from the succession, and on the 15th it came on for discussion

Exclusion Bill passed by Commons, but rejected by the Lords.

in the House of Lords. The Upper House rejected it by 63 votes against 30. Essex and Shaftesbury were the great advocates for the bill, Halifax its chief opponent. The king was present at the debate, and brought his personal influence to bear on all who were thought wavering. All the bishops in the House, fourteen in number voted in the majority.

Factious proceedings of the Whigs.

The Whigs showed their vexation by acting in the most factious manner in the House of Commons. They carried a declaration that the 'abhorrers,' (who had signed petitions expressing 'abhorrence' of the address to the king asking him to summon parliament), or in other words the whole Tory party, were guilty of contempt of parliament; and that members of parliament who had presented these petitions were consenting parties to a breach of privilege. They claimed to sit as a court of justice upon all such, thus making the Habeas Corpus Act practically of no effect. They threatened Chief Justice Scroggs with impeachment for discharging the grand jury when Shaftesbury presented the Duke of York. They declared that until the Duke of York was excluded from the succession they would vote no supplies.

Charles, and the ministers Rochester and Sunderland, feared that no course was open to them but a dissolution.

SECTION II.—*Viscount Stafford.*

Stafford's trial,

The Lords, after their rejection of the Exclusion Bill, were occupied with the trial of Lord Stafford. He was one of the five peers imprisoned on the accusation of Oates and his fellow-informers. On November 30 his trial began before his peers, and on December 7 he was found guilty by 55 votes to 31. Stafford, in his defence, clearly proved the untrustworthy character of Oates's evidence, but to no avail. The

Whigs, the minority in the House of Lords, were joined in voting for his execution by many of the court party, instigated by the king. Charles wished to show, in acting thus, that his firmness in the matter of the Exclusion Bill was not caused by any predilection for papists. Among those also who voted in the majority were all the peers, save one, to whom Stafford was related. 'Lord Stafford was not a man beloved, especially of his own family.'

Stafford's execution took place on December 29. He protested his innocence on the scaffold, and the spectators answered, 'God bless you, we believe you, my lord.' and execution.

SECTION III.—*The Oxford Parliament of* 1681.

The Commons still continued in a most impracticable mood, and the scenes of violence in the House almost equalled those of 1641, which preceded the outbreak of the civil war. In addition to voting that no supplies should be granted until the Exclusion Bill was carried, the Whigs prevailed on the House to declare the king's ministers promoters of popery, and to assert that all who lent the king money were guilty of hindering the sitting of parliament. So on January 18, 1681, the parliament was to be dissolved. But on the last day of the session, in the short quarter of an hour before the moment of dissolution, the majority voted that the opponents of the Exclusion Bill were traitors bought by French money; that the papists caused the great fire of London in 1666; that Monmouth's offices, of which the Duke of York had deprived him, should be restored to him; and that the infliction of penal laws on dissenters was an encouragement of popery. 1681. Fourth parliament dissolved.

The new parliament was ordered to meet at Oxford March 21. Charles hoped that the Tory principles which

prevailed in the university might have some influence on the members of the new Parliament.

Parliament meets at Oxford, March 21.

The king in the meantime entered into fresh intrigues with Lewis, and received from him fresh bribes. Charles indeed 'was now very uneasy; he saw he was despised all Europe over, as a prince that had neither treasure nor power.'

Charles and Lewis again intrigue.

The session lasted but eight days. Shaftesbury and the Opposition mustered in great numbers. They were accompanied by large bodies of followers, who filled the city; they either really feared personal violence, or thought to overawe the Tories by a display of their strength.

Parliament dissolved March 28.

The Commons insisted on the Exclusion Bill, and the king was obstinate in refusing it; so this, Charles's fifth and last parliament, was dissolved, without doing any business, on March 28.

SECTION IV.—*The tactics of the King and the Whigs.*

Charles, immediately after the 'Oxford' parliament was dissolved, published a 'declaration' in which he set forth at length his reasons for taking 'the step,' that is, the dissolution. This declaration was well received, not only by the Tories and the clergy, but by many moderate men who feared that the inordinate demands of the Whigs would cause a renewal of civil war.

Charles's 'declaration.'

And in fact the foolish loss of temper exhibited by the Whig leaders in the closing scenes of the fourth parliament of Charles, and their impracticability in the short session of the fifth parliament at Oxford, had alienated from them the sympathy of many. The timid were frightened, moderate men were disgusted liberal churchmen stood back. The tide of

Charles's popularity.

popular feeling had turned in favour of Charles, and at this moment, if he had acted with prudence and honesty, the loyalty inherent in the English nation would have been his. But Charles would not act with honesty.

Trusting in the king's popularity, the court party hurried on state trials, which from the unjust verdicts obtained in them for purposes of party tactics, threw into the shade the 'Titus Oates' trials.' Two of these state trials will be mentioned here; the one that of the Roman Catholic archbishop Plunket, the other that of 'the Protestant joiner,' Stephen College. State trials.

In the trial of Plunket, the king allowed an innocent man to be executed, in order that the court might appear to be opposed to popery and, this being shown, that the trial of the great Whig leader, Shaftesbury, which was meant to follow, should not be supposed to indicate partiality to the Roman Catholics. Reasons for them.

In the latter trial, that of the Protestant College, not only was a 'gross iniquity' perpetrated, but it was perpetrated in order that the temper of the nation, and the subserviency of judges and juries, might be tested, before proceeding to the trial of Shaftesbury.

SECTION V.—*Trial and Execution of Archbishop Plunket.*

Plunket, titular archbishop of Armagh, was an amiable man, zealous for his religion, but also zealous for purifying his Church, by getting rid of priests who caused scandal by their lives of intrigue and immorality. He had at various times suspended some of these from their duties, and others he had excommunicated. The success of Titus Oates and his followers induced some of these degraded priests and their companions to lay charges of high treason against their primate. But no Irish grand

jury, although Irish grand juries were Protestant, would find a true bill against Plunket, for his integrity was well known, and the bad character of the informers was notorious. The archbishop had come to England, having been assured that he could not legally be put upon his trial to answer the same charges as to which no true bill had been found in Ireland. He was notwithstanding put into prison immediately on his arrival in London, and detained there some months.

Plunket comes to England,

In May 1681, three weeks after the king's 'declaration,' Plunket was brought before the King's Bench. He asked for time to prepare his defence, and to bring over witnesses in his favour from Ireland. Five weeks were allowed him, but this time was insufficient to send to the north of Ireland for witnesses and to bring them back. When the trial began, the informers swore that Plunket had collected money and armed men, and had invited a French occupation of Ireland. They had during their stay in London, where the calling of false witness was now well understood, been thoroughly trained in their lesson. Although Plunket denied any personal knowledge of the witnesses, he was found guilty and was condemned to death. During the interval between his sentence and his execution, favourable reports of his character were made to Charles, both by Lord Essex and by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The sentence was nevertheless carried out on July 1.

is tried for high treason,

and executed.

After this judicial murder of Plunket, the court thought that no Whig could accuse the king or the Tories of a leaning to Popery.

SECTION VI.—*Trial of 'the Protestant Joiner.'*

The trial of Stephen College is, in some respects, even more scandalous than that of Archbishop Plunket. College, a joiner by trade (known as the Protestant joiner), and a citizen of London, was a Presbyterian of intemperate zeal. He had been told off at Oxford, whilst the parliament was sitting, by the direction of Shaftesbury, to watch certain emissaries of the court who were employed in poisoning the minds of the dissenters against the Whigs. He was accused of a design to seize the person of the king at Oxford. The plot was sworn to by the same crew of informers who swore away Plunket's life, but their evidence was now contradicted by Oates. For this Oates lost his pension. The London grand jury refused to believe the evidence of the informers, and threw out the indictment.

Stephen College.

No True Bill found against him.

The judges, however, decided that as the attempt on the king was to have been made at Oxford, College ought to be tried there. It was felt also that an Oxfordshire jury could be better relied on than a Middlesex one, to give their verdict in accordance with the wishes of the court. So the judge and prisoner were removed to Oxford, and College was there found guilty on the same evidence on which a London grand jury would not place him on his trial.

Again tried at Oxford and found guilty,

During the trial, the judges and counsel for the prosecution vied with each other in straining the law against the prisoner, and in applying the most opprobrious epithets to him.

College was put to death on August 31. The ministers of Charles hoped that the nation would believe that both papists and dissenters continued to plot against the king, and that both were encou-

and executed.

raged in their designs by all opposed to the court, especially by 'those traitorous Whigs.'

SECTION VII.—*Indictment of Lord Shaftesbury.*

Charles and the court party knew they could depend on the servile obedience of the judges; they thought also that the condemnation of College proved that juries were becoming amenable to their influence. They therefore proceeded at once to attack Shaftesbury, the Whig leader. For this purpose the Irish witnesses, who had already given evidence against Plunket and College, now laid before the council an accusation against Shaftesbury of having tried to induce them to give such evidence as would convict the queen and the Duke of York of complicity in the Popish Plots. On this accusation an indictment of subornation of perjury was laid against Shaftesbury, and he was committed to the Tower to wait his trial. His papers were seized, and amongst them, it is stated, there was found the rough draft of an association for subverting the government, attached to which was a list of all Shaftesbury's friends in each county, arranged alphabetically. This list was afterwards made use of by the court party for crushing their opponents. The rough draft was unsigned, and was certainly not in Shaftesbury's handwriting.

Shaftesbury is committed to the Tower,

and his papers seized.

The indictment for high treason was framed and the trial was appointed to take place in London, in which city the offence was said to have been committed. The same judges, North and Pemberton, were on the bench, as had presided at the trial of College; the same false witnesses were prepared. To the utter dismay of the court, the grand jury declined to find a true bill against Shaftesbury Shaftesbury was at once set free, November 24.

Indictment against Shaftesbury quashed.

The court laid the blame of their failure on the corporation of the city. They declared that Shaftesbury's escape was owing to the culpable partiality of the sheriffs, who were Whigs, and who had selected Whigs only to form the grand jury.

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTLAND IN 1680 AND 1681.

SECTION I.—*The Cameronians.*

WE have seen that the Duke of York, after the defeat of the conventiclers at Bothwell Bridge, instituted the most stringent proceedings against them.

Cameron, one of their most noted preachers, affixed publicly, in the market-place of Sanquhar, a declaration, in which he excommunicated Charles and the Duke of York, as ungodly usurpers and tyrants, and called on the people to free Scotland from men whose papistical principles were repugnant to the Most High God. He then openly took the field. The conventiclers who followed him were now called Cameronians. The insurgents were few in number, and badly armed. Three troops of dragoons were sufficient to disperse them (July 20, 1680), and in the *mêlée* Cameron himself was slain. Many prisoners were also taken. Cameron.

Cargill, another enthusiast, then took the lead. He was, if it were possible, more determined in his hatred and detestation of the Stuarts than Cameron had been. He formally excommunicated Charles for perjury, adultery, drunkenness, and other crimes; James, Duke of York, for idolatry; the Duke of Monmouth for slaying the faithful at Bothwell Bridge; Cargill

and all the ministers of the crown in Scotland for various heinous offences. The Duke of York retaliated by torturing and putting to death the Cameronians already in his hands.

But Cargill could not long withstand the forces that were sent against him. He and most of his followers were captured. Cargill was executed July 1681. Hackstone, one of the murderers of archbishop Sharp, was amongst the prisoners. The accounts of the cruelties inflicted on the prisoners, by the Duke of York's own orders, appear almost incredible, and equally so the well-established fact that the duke took personal pleasure in witnessing the infliction of tortures. Writer after writer bears witness to the unshaken constancy and firmness displayed by the sufferers, even by weak women. Of Hackstone it is stated that when, weakened by wounds, he was first brought before the council, he refused to answer their questions; that then the council, fearing he would sink under the slower sufferings of the ordinary tortures, sentenced him at once to have both his hands cut off, and then to be hanged; that when the first part of the sentence was carried out and his hands had been cut off, he asked them, with an unshaken voice, if they did not mean to cut off his feet also; and that, notwithstanding all the loss of blood, neither did his calmness desert him to the end, nor did he once lose his senses before he was hanged. Those of the Cameronians whom James did not put to death were either sent to the 'plantations' in America, or were drafted into a Scottish regiment in the pay of the King of Spain. The former punishment was equivalent to being sold as slaves, the latter was a most ingenious form of cruelty. A Scotch Cameronian hated the Pope and Roman Catholics as a Jew of old hated a Samaritan and he was now

A.D. 1681. Cruelties inflicted on prisoners.

forced to serve under the banner of the King of Spain, the tool of the Papacy.

SECTION II.—*The Scotch Parliament of* 1681 *and the Earl of Argyle.*

The Scotch Parliament summoned by the Duke of York met in July 1681. One of the measures carried was a Test Act. The chief provisions of this Act were repugnant to Presbyterians; for by it, all who held office in Church or State were compelled to make a declaration affirming the doctrine of passive obedience to the Crown and undertaking never to attempt any alteration in the government of either Church or State.

Test Act carried.

Even of the episcopal clergy a majority were opposed to the Act. They argued that if the king by a proclamation were to abolish episcopacy, by the terms of this new Test Act the clergy would be bound to support him. The Episcopal Church of Scotland was moreover, as yet, imperfectly constituted. Neither its liturgy nor its discipline had been legally confirmed, yet by the terms of the Act both clergy and laity undertook to attempt no alteration in it. The Church would therefore, perforce, remain unsettled. The result of the passing of the Act was that about eighty, and these the most pious and esteemed, of the episcopal clergy resigned their preferments rather than make the declaration.

Consequently many resign office.

Of the nobility many hesitated and procrastinated. One of the most powerful noblemen in Scotland was Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle, chief of the clan Campbell. He was son of that Marquis of Argyle who had taken so prominent a part in dethroning Charles I., and had suffered death at the

The Earl of Argyle.

Restoration. The marquisate became extinct, but the son was permitted to inherit the old earldom of the family.

Argyle had conformed to episcopacy, and had hitherto been useful to the Duke of York by assisting him in his plans for reducing the Scotch to submission. James seems, however, not to have wholly trusted Argyle, and to have considered him half-hearted in his adhesion. He thought Argyle had shown greater cordiality to Monmouth, when he was the king's representative in Scotland, than to himself. Argyle also claimed certain hereditary privileges which gave him almost royal authority in the Highlands, and these privileges James was anxious to secure for the Crown.

Argyle was both a privy councillor and a commissioner of the treasury. For either of these offices the Test Act required him to qualify. James called on him to comply with the Act. At first Argyle declined, but he afterwards agreed to make the required declaration, with an explanation subjoined, to the effect that the Act was in parts contradictory, and that he, by complying with it, did not debar himself from attempting in his station any amendment in Church or State. This reservation of Argyle's was twisted by the crown lawyers of Scotland into the crime of 'leasing making,' or of endeavouring to sow discord between the king and his subjects. On this accusation Argyle was brought to trial.

The Marquis of Montrose, the hereditary enemy of the Campbells, was 'chancellor,' or foreman of the jury.

Argyle's trial, sentence, and escape.

Argyle was found guilty, and sentenced to death. It is asserted that it was never intended to carry out this sentence, but Argyle had no reason to trust to the good faith of a Stuart. Aided by his daughter-in-law, Lady Sophia Lindsay, and disguised as her page, he effected his escape into Holland. The brutal

and officious Scotch council proposed that the lady, for her share in her father-in-law's escape, should be publicly whipped. Even James, not usually lenient, would not consent to this.

James's power was now apparently established in Scotland. The Presbyterians seemed to be crushed. The clergy who were scrupulous had resigned. The nobles who had shown an inclination to be independent had either left the kingdom or had been reduced to silence. The treatment which Argyle had received from James proved how little mercy would be shown to anyone offending, so that the Duke of York was feared as well as hated.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND FROM 1682 UNTIL THE DEATH OF CHARLES II. (1685).

SECTION I.—*William of Orange visits Charles. William, James, and Monmouth.*

WILLIAM of Orange visited the court of Charles in the spring of 1682 in order to obtain his aid in withstanding the encroachments of Lewis XIV. In this object William failed, for Charles had just received another large bribe from Lewis. But William's visit was made at an opportune moment, for it enabled him to observe personally the state of affairs in England, and to form an estimate of the leading men of the state, and the relative value of their party politics. He seems to have come to the conclusion that it would be only by the triumph of Whig measures, and the return to power of Whig statesmen, that the influence and support of England could be withdrawn from Lewis XIV. Henceforth, therefore, the leaders of the popular

A.D. 1682. William identifies himself with the Whigs.

party looked to William to afford them moral and material assistance in withstanding the successive encroachments on the constitution, made, under the advice of Lewis, by Charles and James.

James is angry at William's visit.

James was surprised and displeased at Charles having permitted William to pay him a visit. He remonstrated with Charles by letter; he moved one of the king's mistresses to plead his cause, and to intercede for him. He asked that at any rate he might also be allowed to see his brother. On William's departure from London, Charles gave way, and invited James to meet him at Newmarket, where he intended to stay for some days to enjoy the races.

James entered into a full explanation of his conduct in the North. He seems to have convinced Charles of the expediency of his measures; he obtained from him full power to continue his course of persecution, and to place the administration in the hands of trustworthy noblemen. He also obtained from Charles permission to quit Scotland after he had thoroughly settled the affairs of that kingdom.

James's shipwreck.

At Yarmouth James embarked in the *Gloucester* frigate for Leith. In the night the ship struck on a sandbank and became a wreck. James escaped with difficulty, caring more for the safety of his spaniels and his confessor than of his sailors and retinue. One hundred and thirty lives were lost. Amongst the survivors was Captain Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough.

James finally leaves Scotland.

The Scotch council met James at Edinburgh. To those nobles who could be depended on was entrusted, with the title of lords justices, the duty of enforcing uniformity and of stamping out the Cameronians. James then finally left Scotland, but his policy was still continued with unabated vigour.

The persecution suffered by the Cameronians, and by those suspected of aiding them, or of being even friendly disposed towards them, still forms in the present day the staple of the 'household' stories of the lowlands of Scotland.

Monmouth, to assure his friends and to increase his popularity, adopted the same plan which he had before found successful. As in 1680 he visited the west of England, so now in 1682 he made an almost royal progress through the north-western counties, being everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm.

Charles was naturally incensed at this, and on Monmouth's return to London caused him to be arrested, and to be held to bail in 10,000*l.* for his future good conduct.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, on Monmouth's disgrace, fled to Holland. There he died a few weeks afterwards (January, 1683). Death of Shaftesbury

Section II.—*Attacks on the Charters of the Corporations.*

The failure of the impeachment of Shaftesbury had much annoyed the court party. At the election this year (1682) of city officers, the Tories through intimidation and bribery gained an ascendancy, and many of the leading Whigs in London were on various pretences prosecuted and fined. The new sheriffs, whose duty it was to name the grand jury, were carefully selected. One of them was brother to Judge North, soon (December 20) to be appointed lord keeper and created Earl of Guildford. Tory Sheriffs elected for the City of London.

The burgesses or borough representatives in parliament were chosen principally by the corporations of the boroughs. The corporations of most of the towns were

Whigs, and were firm supporters of Protestant principles and of civil liberty. They were consequently opposed to Charles, or rather to his policy. It was thought that a good opportunity presented itself to destroy the independence of these boroughs. The majority in the Corporation of the City of London, now composed of Tories, were not likely to offer any violent opposition to a measure of the court. It was determined therefore to make a bold attack on the privileges of the corporation of the chief city of the kingdom, and if this succeeded, to attack the charters of other boroughs in detail.

Charter of the City of London attacked.

The City of London claimed certain rights and privileges, amongst others that of levying tolls on various commodities, on the authority of bye-laws passed by itself. A proceeding 'quo warranto' was issued, to enquire by what warrant the corporation exercised their rights and privileges. If it were found that this warrant was insufficient, it was held that the charter of the corporation was forfeited.

On June 12 (1683), the City of London was declared to have forfeited its charters. Several other towns lost their charters in a similar manner soon afterwards. The decision, that a corporation, by an irregular action on its part, forfeited its charter and privileges, was not according to law. It affords another proof of the shameful sycophancy of the judges.

A.D. 1683. London loses its charter, and other boroughs likewise.

The infamous Chief Justice Jeffreys, soon to acquire unenviable notoriety, was conspicuous in pronouncing judgments agreeable to the king. He is said to have 'made all the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him,' and to have 'returned' from the circuit 'laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns.' For many towns, rather than incur the expense and risk of a trial, voluntarily sur-

rendered their charters, and received fresh ones from the Crown. If Charles had summoned another parliament the Whig majority would have been much lessened, for owing to the new constitution of the corporations, crown nominees would have been returned.

SECTION III.—*The Rye House Plot.*

The successful attack on the corporations marked a great increase in the influence of the court. The Whigs, and not only the Whigs, but all Englishmen who loved their country, knew full well that these attacks on the liberties of the state were instigated by Lewis XIV., and that they were steps in reducing England to the same despotic rule as France. An attempt was therefore made to counteract these schemes for undermining the constitution. A 'confederacy' was formed. It is doubtful whether the leaders, in carrying out their projects, were prepared to go to the length of involving their country in a civil war. Some of them had before disapproved of Shaftesbury's measures, as too revolutionary. They therefore could hardly have contemplated an appeal to arms. But those 'agitations' which are undertaken by politicians in the present day for the purpose of obtaining a change of ministry, or the repeal of an obnoxious statute or tax, were then called conspiracies and high treason.

A confederacy formed.

The chief persons of the confederacy were Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, Lord Grey, Lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and Hampden, grandson of the patriot. Lord Essex and Lord Russell were known to be opposed to violent measures. Of the others, Lord Grey was more likely to be reckless. He was a man of bad private character; he had been the defendant in one of the most disgraceful trials known in the English law-

Leaders of the confederacy.

records, involving the honour of more than one noble family; he was looked on as a man whose reputation was already gone, although he was Monmouth's most trusted friend. Sidney also might not have been one of the prudent ones. He was a republican by conviction; and a philosopher, who, although somewhat visionary, aimed consistently at religious and civil liberty, at freedom of thought and action.

Assassination plot.

Unfortunately for the leaders of the Whigs, certain of Shaftesbury's followers were aware of the existence of the confederacy, and knew that active measures were being planned for overthrowing the ascendancy of the Tories. They knew that Monmouth and the Whigs wished to upset the court influence, and to exclude the Duke of York from the succession. They thought that there was a more speedy and effectual way of carrying out their wishes. They plotted to assassinate Charles and the Duke of York as they returned from Newmarket races.

Keeling discloses the plot.

A man named Keeling, a vintner, whose trade had fallen off and who was anxious to obtain some share in the pensions and places bestowed on informers, told Lord Dartmouth, a favourite of the Duke of York, that a terrible plot for slaying the king and the Duke of York was preparing in the city. Keeling had borne the character of being an active Whig, and had consequently been entrusted with some of the secrets of the conspirators. His story was that a man named Rumbold had a farmhouse called Rye House, not far from Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire; that this house was close to the high road from Newmarket to London; that it was proposed to conceal some twenty or thirty men in that house, which was surrounded by a moat, and had also large farm buildings in which horses and accoutrements could be hidden; that the king's coach,

with its small escort of only five guards, was to be surrounded as it passed by the house; that the guards were to be shot down, and the king and duke killed; that this plot was to have been carried into execution on the king's previous return from Newmarket, had it not been that the king had returned two or three days earlier than was expected, owing to a fire having broken out in the royal lodgings at Newmarket. As there had been a fire at the king's apartments on that visit, Keeling's story appeared to be in some degree trustworthy. Rumbold therefore, and the other conspirators named by Keeling, were arrested, and in their possession were found various letters showing they were in correspondence with the Whig leaders.

Warrants were issued for the arrest of Monmouth, Lord Grey, Lord Russell, Lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, Lord Essex, and others.

All those engaged in the actual assassination plot who were captured, were tried and condemned on the evidence of Keeling. But of the leaders in the political plot, or the confederacy, Monmouth and Lord Grey escaped; Essex, Howard, Lord Russell, and Sidney alone were taken. Howard offered, when brought before the council, to turn king's evidence. In 1674 he had been engaged in political intrigues together with Shaftesbury, and when the crown lawyers had declared the intrigues treasonable, he had then obtained his pardon and court favour by betraying his accomplices. He now again adopted the same course. On July 13 1683, Russell was brought to trial.

Howard turns king's evidence.

Trial of Lord Russell.

The counsel for the Crown took advantage of everything which might press hard against the prisoner. When Russell requested that some one might take notes on his behalf, he was told a servant might do so. His wife was

present, and fulfilled that duty for him. Lord Howard was brought forward to give evidence against the prisoner. He had just commenced by stating that the six leaders of the conspiracy were Monmouth, Essex, Sidney, Russell, Hampden, and himself, when a slight stir was evident in the court, and one of the officials whispered something in the witness's ear. His voice began to falter, and he could hardly be heard. The Lord Chief Justice requested him to speak louder, and asked him why he was so agitated, Howard said, 'An unhappy accident hath just happened, that hath sunk my voice.'

Death of Lord Essex.

The unhappy accident was the death of Lord Essex. On that morning, just as Lord Russell's trial had begun, the earl asked for a razor; and, when it was brought him, went into his sleeping-room and cut his throat. So determined was he, that his head was almost severed from his body; and many persons doubted whether so fearful a wound could have been self-inflicted.

Execution of Russell.

Lord Russell was found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was executed July 21.

His character.

No man ever died who was more lamented. He was the most affectionate of husbands. When he had taken leave of his wife, he exclaimed, 'Now the bitterness of death is passed.' He was most beloved by his friends. Lord Cavendish would have saved him by exchanging clothes with him and remaining in his stead in prison. He was a true patriot; his defence was that he laboured not to change the constitution of his country, but to assert it. His name will always be revered by Englishmen, for his virtues were those which all men honour, his failings those which most men pardon. For his failings were, too credulous trust in such men as Howard, and indiscretion in allowing himself to be carried too far by his indignation at the way in which his country's freedom was being trampled on.

Sidney's trial took place in November. Lord Russell had at the commencement of his trial made an objection to the jury because they were not all freeholders. The answer to the objection was that the law directed that the jury should be chosen from freeholders, in order to ensure their being men of some property, and therefore by presumption more intelligent; that this would not be necessary in the case of the jury trying Russell, because it was a jury of the city of London, and that in fact a sufficient number of freeholders could not be found, for few of the principal merchants and tradesmen living in the city were freeholders. Sidney was to be tried by a Middlesex jury, and he also objected to some of the members as not being freeholders. Jeffreys presided at the trial as Lord Chief Justice. He overruled the objection, although the principle had been admitted in Russell's trial, for in that case the exception was claimed for a jury of the city of London, and the reason for allowing the exception would not apply to the county of Middlesex. This overruling of Jeffreys was delivered in terms which were studiously cruel and vindictive. He maintained the same conduct throughout the trial. He hurled bitter invectives against the prisoner, he strained the law against him when the law was doubtful, he tightened the fetters of the law when the law was clearly in favour of the Crown.

Trial of Algernon Sidney.

The chief witness against Sidney was Lord Howard. This time he told his tale with greater confidence, and in a more coherent form. The statute which regulates the form of trial for high treason requires that there should be a second witness to corroborate the first. The Crown produced no second witness to corroborate Lord Howard, but Jeffreys ruled that a manuscript found amongst Sidney's papers might be put in to supply the

place of the second witness. The manuscript had never been published, and was not proved to be even in Sidney's handwriting. It advocated a republican form of government, and Jeffreys again ruled that it afforded corroborative evidence, inasmuch as the doctrines advocated in it were such as, when carried into practice, might lead to such acts as Lord Howard swore to. The Lord Chief Justice therefore allowed opinions to be proof of facts. Sidney argued against this illegal decision in vain. Notwithstanding that prisoners on their trial for treason were allowed counsel to argue disputed points of law, although they might not cross-examine witnesses nor address the jury, yet Jeffreys refused to allow Sidney any counsel, maintaining there was no doubtful point of law in his case.

Sidney was found guilty, and executed. He died with the calm composure of a philosopher. He was one of the last of that generation of pure republicans who could brook neither the enlightened rule of a Cromwell nor the senseless despotism of a Charles. Of noble family, and of refined habits, he was led by his philosophy to be a despiser of kings and a lover of equality. He advocated religious freedom, not from love of religion, but because his philosophy caused him to think all religions equally faulty. His was a speculative and not a practical mind. His habits were rather those of a student than of an active politician.

Sidney's death and character.

Monmouth having made an abject apology for his offences was pardoned and returned to court, for the king 'still loved him passionately.' Weak and vain though he was, he was not however so degraded as to play the part allotted to him, that of evidence for the crown with Howard. It was necessary for Hampden's conviction to find two witnesses, for he had no written papers to be brought against him. Halifax and the Duke of York therefore hoped that

Monmouth pardoned. Hampden is fined.

Monmouth would by his evidence corroborate that of Howard. This Monmouth flatly refused to do. He was accordingly subpœnaed to appear at the trial. He immediately fled to the Continent.

Hampden escaped with a fine of 40,000*l.* Others who were inculpated in the 'Rye House Plot,' as they fell one by one into the hands of the Government, suffered on the scaffold. Some of these were even seized abroad and brought to England for trial and conviction.

Section IV.—*Duke of York reinstated in Office.*

The confidence of the king's party, that is, of the ultra-royalists was unbounded.

Tangier, the dowry of the queen, that African town for the possession of which so much diplomacy had been exerted, for which Dunkirk had been abandoned, and on the fortification of which so much money had been expended, was now dismantled, and its garrison brought back to England.

Tangier dismantled.

The soldiers, instead of being discharged, were still kept in pay. The king had previously had distinctly attached to himself, and paid by him, a certain number of guards. This addition was the commencement of a standing army. The troops from Tangier (forming regiments still existing as the 1st Dragoons and the 2nd and 4th Foot) brought up the personal army of Charles to 1,700 cavalry and 7,000 foot. Paid by the king, owing allegiance to no other authority than that of the king, this army was looked on with extreme disfavour by all lovers of the constitution. For England's constitutional force was the militia, which could be called together by parliament through the lords-lieutenant of the counties. A large standing army was feared as a means by which a tyrant might be able to coerce a free people. This in-

Its garrison forms the commencement of a standing army.

crease to the guards, although as yet the whole army was hardly large enough to intimidate London alone, made the Whigs uneasy, and in like proportion raised higher the spirits of the court party.

Charles now therefore thought himself strong enough to reinstate his brother in his office of lord high admiral and in his seat at the council. James had been obliged to resign both these offices in 1673, when the Test Act was passed which forbade anyone to hold office unless he qualified for doing so by receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the English Church, and by signing a declaration against the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation. The king now 'dispensed' with the provisions of the Act, and James was restored to his dignities.

A.D. 1684. James reinstated.

Although the Whigs were discomfited and 5,000 troops were quartered in London, it is doubtful whether this reinstatement of the Duke of York in his offices would not have caused much indignation and outspoken dissatisfaction, had it not been for the wedding in the previous year (1683) of Anne, James's second daughter, with Prince George of Denmark, a Protestant. The marriage was a popular one, and did much to remove the suspicion with which James, as an avowed Papist, was regarded.

Princess Anne married to Prince George of Denmark.

SECTION V.—*Death of Charles II.*

The year 1685 opened with gloomy prospects for the Whigs. The leaders were either exiled or disgraced, and no Parliament had been summoned since 1681. The courtiers were revelling in extravagance and profligacy, and the money for enabling them to do so was received from France. The courts of justice were disgraced by the bullying demeanour and the undisguised partiality of the judges. Romish priests, in

A.D. 1685. Condition of England in 1685.

defiance of law, openly exercised their functions and celebrated mass. The air was thick with rumours of plots, Protestant as well as Papist. Many of the chief towns, the strongholds of the national party, had lost their charters altogether, or had paid heavy fines to preserve them with diminished privileges.

The English government was directed by Barillon, ambassador of Lewis XIV., and England, under the 'Trimmer' Halifax, was fast settling down into a French province.

On February 5 Charles was seized with a fit of apoplexy. Dr. King, one of the court physicians, happening to be present, bled the king, which gave him temporary relief; but on the following day another attack occurred, which carried him off after a few hours. His death-bed was marked by the same duplicity as his life had been. Bishops filled the room, anxious to administer the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England to the dying man, so that all doubt as to his being a sincere member of their church might be removed. But Charles put them off. In the meantime, the Duke of York had, at intervals, carried on a whispered conversation with him, which ended in his telling those assembled that it was the king's wish that the room should be cleared of all but two or three of his personal attendants. Clergy and physicians were therefore hurried out of the room, and immediately one Huddleston, a Romish priest, in disguise, entered by a back staircase. To him the king made his last confession, and from him received absolution and extreme unction.

Death of Charles II.

Thus died Charles II. of England, a tool in the hands of Lewis XIV. of France. A tool by whose use Lewis hoped to gain the supremacy in Western Europe, trusting that then the Imperial Crown and Spain might in due

course follow. Through Charles also, Lewis hoped that the spirit of Protestantism, the spirit of freedom, which was essentially opposed to his projects, might be so crushed in England as to be unable in future to afford either moral or material support to those on the Continent who persisted in adhering to it.

Charles was naturally attractive. He was amiable in conversation, and had the manners of a well-bred gentleman; but of the feelings of a true gentleman he was ignorant, for he was a sensualist and a most selfish one. His great object was to be freed from care, to gratify every passing desire, to be surrounded by smiling faces—faces of handsome men and beautiful women—to be popular wherever he went, and into whatever company he might be thrown. Good tempered, because good temper saved annoyance; generous to those around him, because it was too much trouble to refuse trifling boons; he was nevertheless one of the most cruel and hardhearted of men. For he was the incarnation of selfishness; he would sacrifice anyone for his self-gratification; he believed in no virtue and shrank from no vice.

Character of Charles II.

'Like master, like man;' as was the king, so was the court. 'We are much indebted,' says Hallam, 'to the memory of the courtiers and favourites of Charles II. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom, the expulsion of the house of Stuart.'

Charles' court.

CHAPTER VI.

LEWIS XIV. AND FRANCE, TO THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES (OCTOBER 12, 1685).

SECTION I.—*The Chambers of Reunion.*

LEWIS XIV., after the signing of the Treaty of Nimwegen, resolved to follow the policy advocated by Colbert, and to give France breathing time to replenish her resources; but he also made up his mind to try what advantages in determining the boundaries of the kingdom he might gain by diplomacy, and what privileges over the neighbouring states he might venture to exercise.

A.D. 1678. Lewis' claims.

At the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, already long possessed by France, had been formally ceded to her. To these bishoprics had been formerly attached certain fiefs in Germany, and over these fiefs Lewis now claimed sovereignty. The claim had been left unsettled at the Peace of Nimwegen. Lewis (1679), reopened the question, and added further complications with regard to his newly acquired territories of Elsass (Alsace, 1648), and Franche Comté (1678). This claim of Lewis XIV. may be likened to a king of France demanding of a king of England the recognition of certain rights over English lands, because these lands had formerly been part of the possessions of Norman abbeys, when Normandy and England were under one monarch. In order to give some legal sanction to his claims, Lewis made use of the parliaments of Metz (Lothringen), Besançon (Franche Comté), and Breisach (Elsass). In these he established chambers, called 'Chambres Royales

A.D. 1679. Lewis establishes the Chambers of Reunion.

de Réunion,' to investigate the claims put forth by the French king.

The members of these chambers had been well prepared by Lewis's emissaries, and they decided that, by virtue of the Treaties of Westphalia (1648), the Pyrenees (1659), and Nimwegen, various territories on the borders rightfully belonged to France.

Decisions of the Chambers.

The effect of this decision was to take away from the King of Sweden his duchy of Zweibrücken (Deux Ponts); and from the Elector of Trier (Trèves), the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Würtemberg, and other sovereign princes, several counties and lordships.

The city of Strasburg was an imperial city, but Lewis exerted all his ingenuity to get possession of it. He managed to obtain a decree from the accommodating chamber of Breisach, to the effect that Strasburg had been formerly a dependent fief and could not be alienated from Elsass, which was now French territory. The municipality of the city was gained over to the French cause by bribery. A large force was hastily and secretly assembled in the neighbourhood. The magistrates had removed all means of defence. The imperial officer acting as resident in the city had no alternative but to leave. Without one drop of bloodshed, Lewis thus gained possession of a city which was considered the key of the Upper Rhine. Strasburg was forthwith re-fortified by Vauban. It was converted into a fortress of the first magnitude, and became the bulwark of France on its eastern frontier. A medal was struck to commemorate the completion of the work, bearing the inscription 'Clausa Germanis Gallia' (France closed to the Germans).

A.D. 1681. Lewis gains Strasburg by stratagem.

On October 23, 1681, Lewis entered Strasburg in state.

Section II.—*Further ambitious Schemes of Lewis.*

The designs of Lewis on the Imperial Crown were now understood by the European princes. It was therefore determined that a strong effort should be made to thwart his ambitious projects. A treaty was therefore concluded between Sweden, Holland, Germany, and Spain, who engaged to enforce the observance of the conditions of the Treaty of Nimwegen. Lewis had assembled an army for the blockade of Luxemburg; but on hearing of this treaty he hastily withdrew his troops, and proposed a mediator to adjudge on the validity of his various claims. The mediator he proposed was Charles II. of England.

Lewis prepares to attack Luxemburg, but delays for a time.

Pope Innocent XI. (1676–1689) had been unfriendly with Lewis. He disliked the king's encouragement of the Jesuits, and objected to his interference in purely ecclesiastical matters. But his anger was roused by Lewis claiming the right of the 'Regale,' that is, the royal right to present to all benefices in a see as long as the see continues vacant, and to receive the income of the see until the new bishop has taken the oath of allegiance. This right the pope resisted.

A.D. 1682. Affair of the 'Regale.'

Lewis accordingly convoked an assembly of the French clergy. Under the influence of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, the 'Declaration of the Clergy of France' was drawn up, March 1682. The declaration asserted:—1, that the pope has no power in temporal matters; 2, that the pope's spiritual authority is limited by the canons of the Church; 3, that the pope's decrees are not infallible unless confirmed by a general council; 4, that the pope cannot subvert any of the liberties or constitutions of the Gallican Church. A royal edict converted this 'Declaration' into law. The

The Declaration of the Clergy.

pope condemned the Declaration, and ordered it to be publicly burnt at Rome. It was many years before the difficulty was finally arranged, and then not in the lifetime of Pope Innocent. He therefore was one of the numerous opponents of Lewis's policy.

If we turn to the East, we shall find that (1683), Vienna was threatened by the Turks, whose army lay encamped before the city. Lewis was believed to have encouraged the Sultan in his advance into Europe. He hoped that all the forces and energy of Germany would be engaged in contending with the Turks, and that it would be unable to give assistance to Spain or Holland. He then seized the opportunity to invade the Spanish Netherlands. Courtrai and Dixmuide were taken by him, and Luxemburg was threatened. Spain in vain looked for succour to her allies. Charles of England was in the pay of Lewis; the emperor was occupied by the Turkish war; Sweden was powerless; and William, the Stadtholder, could not persuade the States-General to do more than make strong protests against Lewis's encroachments.

A.D. 1683. Lewis attacks the Spanish Netherlands.

In June 1684 Luxemburg fell, and Trier (Trèves), was taken and dismantled. Holland offered to mediate, William being evidently aware that the present was not an opportune moment to continue the struggle. The preliminary condition made by the States was that their territories should be respected. Lewis having agreed to this, Holland concluded a treaty of peace with Lewis for twenty years, and compelled Spain also to accede, Lewis being permitted to retain Luxemburg, but restoring to Spain Courtrai and Dixmuide. The emperor also agreed to the treaty, and it was formally signed at Regensburg (Ratisbon), August 15, 1684.

A.D. 1684. Treaty of Regensburg.

One clause in this armed truce of twenty years (for

such only it was) gave to France possession of all those places adjudged to her by the Chambers of Reunion up to August 1, 1681, but disallowed any claims put forward after that date.

SECTION III.—*The Huguenots, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.*

The Protestants in France were called Huguenots. The origin of the name is doubtful. Some derive it from 'Eidgenossen' (confederates), a term used for the confederates of Switzerland. Others derive it from a small and almost worthless coin of the time of the French King Hugues (987–996). A third and more probable derivation is from 'Hugon,' a provincialism used in the city of Tours and its neighbourhood to denote a nightmare or bad dream (what we call a bugbear); and naughty children were frightened by the threat of sending for Hugon, or King Hugon. So in some parts of England the expression King Hugger-mugger is used in the same way. This term Huguenot then was a term of opprobrium applied by French Roman Catholics to their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

Huguenots. Origin of the name.

Henry IV., who had succeeded to the throne of France in 1589, was by birth a Huguenot. He found that as long as he remained a member of that faith his kingdom would never be without civil war. He therefore abjured Protestantism in 1593, and became a Catholic, but at the same time, he endeavoured to propitiate the goodwill of the Huguenots, and to prevent a renewal of the religious wars which had devastated whole provinces of France, by issuing the celebrated edict of Nantes, 1598. This edict was one of the first of those laws which breathed a spirit of tolerance, and aimed a blow at the exclusive claims put forth by the Romish Church in Catholic countries. It secured to the

A.D. 1598. Edict of Nantes.

Huguenots the free exercise of their religion; admission to colleges, hospitals, and schools; permission to hold offices of trust without having to take oaths repugnant to their principles; and, above all, reserved for them certain fortified towns to which they might retire for security if persecutions arose.

Under the protection of this edict the Huguenots became the most active and wealthy portion of the French nation. Devoting themselves for the most part to commerce, the chief industries and manufactures were in their hands, and on them most of the mercantile prosperity of France depended.

Wealth of the Huguenots.

The toleration of doctrines differing from those held by the State Church was little understood in the seventeenth century, and was totally opposed to the ideas of Lewis XIV. As soon as Lewis took the reins of power in his hands, so soon began the persecution of Protestants. One by one their privileges were curtailed. In 1661 their right of private meetings was taken from them. In 1663 decrees were issued forbidding Protestants to keep schools of an upper grade, and permitting the children of Protestant parents, while of tender age, to change their religion without the consent of their parents. This harsh treatment of the Protestants continued until 1665, in which year Lewis was persuaded by Colbert to stay his hand, and promulgate no new laws against the liberty of the Huguenots.

A.D. 1675. Lewis persecutes Protestants.

In 1675, however, a new disturbing influence made itself felt in the person of Madame de Maintenon. This lady had been born and bred a Huguenot, but, having embraced the Roman Catholic religion, showed all the zeal of a convert for her new faith. She was the widow of a second-rate author named Scarron, and had been employed for many years as governess to

Madame de Maintenon.

some of Lewis's illegitimate children. Acting in this capacity, she had gained the affections of the king. Lewis was attracted towards her not so much by her beauty, which was mature and ripened, as by her wit, her prudence, her refinement, and her rare gift of conversation. He experienced a new pleasure in the society of a woman who flattered him without fawning on him, and who appealed to those sentimental feelings which a man of ill-regulated mind is apt to call his better nature. Under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, Lewis returned to what she was pleased to designate the paths of virtue. Once more he lived on proper terms with his queen, Maria Theresa, and he set his mind on effecting a reformation in the religious belief of his subjects, which should equal the reformation which his own morals had undergone. All France therefore was to be converted to the Roman Catholic religion. In this resolve Lewis was strengthened not only by the seductions of Madame de Maintenon, but also by the entreaties of the celebrated bishop Bossuet, who had been so zealous an ally in his quarrel with the pope, and by the injunctions of his trusted confessor, Father la Chaise.

Colbert still strove against these allied influences, and for a time with some effect, but in 1683 Colbert died, and Louvois, now Lewis's minister, put no restraint on the king's wishes.

A.D. 1683. Death of Colbert.

Shortly after Colbert's death, Maria Theresa also died. After a few weeks' interval, Lewis privately, in his chapel at Versailles, bestowed his hand on the widow of Scarron. Henceforth, although she was styled only 'Madame la Marquise de Maintenon,' she wielded the power of a queen, and demanded the submission and deference due to a crowned head.

Death of Maria Theresa, and Lewis marriage with Madame de Maintenon.

Now again burst forth persecutions of the Protestants.

Protestant churches were closed. Protestants were forbidden to plead in the law courts. Marriages of Protestants with Catholics were declared illegal, and their children illegitimate. To Protestants the tax-gatherer paid daily visits. On Protestant householders were billeted twice the number of soldiers that the law compelled them to entertain.

New persecutions of Protestants.

In many parts of France, and more particularly in the south, insurrections broke out; and to quell these outbreaks, dragoons (soldiers who were accustomed to serve alike on foot or horseback) were employed. In many a town inhabited by Protestants, brutal atrocities were committed by these emissaries of religion. Huguenots, old and young alike, were put to death, and the women were subjected to every indignity. To escape from these *dragonnades*, as the military persecutions were called, there seemed but one means, flight. Hundreds of Huguenots sold their property, and were welcomed in England and Holland with open arms. This emigration was, however, put a stop to by fresh edicts uttered by Louvois.

The Dragonnades. A.D. 1684.

In 1685 the finishing stroke was put to the work of the conversion of all France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. By this formal act not merely were all privileges taken away from the Protestants, but it was ordered that every Protestant church should be demolished; that the exercise of the Protestant religion should be punished by perpetual imprisonment; that all Protestant children should forthwith be baptized by Romish priests; that all Protestant clergymen should either renounce their faith, or immediately quit France. To enforce these ordinances, the dragonnades became more and more severe. Louvois ordered the dragoons to live 'licentiously.' Fearful were the sufferings of the persecuted Protestants.

A.D. 1685. Revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Thousands (200,000), after undergoing perils of every description, escaped to happier lands. Arriving almost penniless, their industry and talents soon provided them with plenty. England, Holland, Germany, Denmark were each enriched by the labour of the foreigners. One district of London, Spitalfields, was colonised entirely by weavers of silk from Lyons and Touraine. In Holland manufactures of silk and paper were established by the refugees. Berlin was a small city of 15,000 inhabitants; thither came an influx of 20,000 Huguenots, materially affecting not only an increase of the city, but a corresponding improvement in its trade and wealth. Among the men of eminence who left their country were Duquesne, the first of the naval officers of France, who died in Switzerland; Marshal Schomberg, afterwards to become the most trusted general of William of Orange; de Ruvigny, afterwards Earl of Galway; Rapin, the historian; Papin, the natural philosopher. Many of the great English families of the present day were founded by the Huguenots.

Huguenots emigrate and enrich foreign countries.

The industries of several French towns, such as Tours and Caen, were for a time completely ruined, but the flatterers of Lewis sang his praises. The Chancellor le Tellier, being at the point of death, and the news of the revocation of the edict of Nantes being brought to him, chanted the 'Song of Simeon.' Bossuet, the champion of the liberties of the Gallican Church against papal encroachments, compared Lewis to each of the heroes of Christendom, from Constantine to Charles the Great. The refined and sentimental Madame de Sévigné was loud in her praises. The freethinkers and philosophers, the voluptuous courtiers, and the sneering cynics, all applauded an act which removed from France the Protestants. For, said they,

The French courtiers rejoice.

these Huguenots will one day become dangerous, since their very existence proclaims a principle of revolution which a prudent and far-seeing monarch should stamp out of his subjects.

CHAPTER VII.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II. OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.—*James's Policy on his Accession.*

CHARLES II. had died February 6; his brother, James Duke of York, succeeded him as James II., and was crowned April 23. James knew the opinion which his subjects held of him. At his interview with the privy council he declared that although he had been ever represented as fond of arbitrary power, they should find the contrary; that he would endeavour to maintain the government both in Church and State as by law established; and that as, on the one hand, he would never yield the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so on the other hand, the property and person of every subject should be secure. He added that the members of the Church of England had always been good and loyal subjects, and therefore he would always support and defend their Church.

Accession of James II.

James II., son of Charles I., was born Oct. 15, 1633; he was consequently in his fifty-second year at his accession. His education in the troublous times of his boyhood had been much neglected, and his naturally slow perception had not therefore been quickened. He was one of the most obstinate of men; and his obstinacy often prompted him to run directly counter to the wishes of his advisers. When a boy and an exile in France, he withstood all his mother's entreaties,

Character of James II.

and all the pressure put on him by the French court and clergy, to become a Roman Catholic; the more he was urged, the stronger became his Protestant sympathies. But when he had returned to England, and found papists hated and feared by English churchmen as well as dissenters, then he became a Roman Catholic. Before the Restoration (1660) he had been solicited to join in a faction which had for its object the overthrow of the authority exercised by Lord Clarendon in the little court of the exiled royal family; James acquiesced at first, but in the end married Clarendon's daughter, Anne. Joined to this obstinacy was a certain steadiness and regularity in business matters, which would have fitted him to be a good head of a department in the civil service. His administration of the navy from 1660 until 1673 was accordingly respectable, and formed a marked contrast to the miserable inefficiency presented by the same service from 1673 until 1685. But James had none of the heartiness of manner which rendered his brother Charles, in spite of his faults, popular. As licentious and selfish as Charles, he had none of the latter's *bonhomie*; narrow-minded, stern, unforgiving, cruel, his character had but few redeeming points.

James's first wife, Anne Hyde, had died in 1671, leaving two daughters; the elder, Mary, born 1662, and married in 1677 to her first cousin, William, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces; the younger, Anne, born in 1665, and married in 1683 to Prince George, brother of the King of Denmark. James had married secondly, in 1673, the Princess Mary of Este, sister of the Duke of Modena. She had as yet no son, and of her five daughters all had died young. Her only son, James Francis Edward, was not born until June 10, 1688. James' family.

The accession of James was as peaceful as if he had

been the well beloved of his subjects. The speech he made to his privy council had been industriously circulated, and had somewhat calmed the natural feelings of alarm entertained by English churchmen. He retained in office the ministers of the late king. But Lord Halifax was not trusted by him; he could not forgive his conduct in having proposed, in the short Oxford parliament, a regency bill which would have curtailed his powers on his accession. The king preferred the other ministers, Rochester, Godolphin, and Sunderland. At the same time he gathered around him a secret council of Roman Catholics, whose advice he took rather than that of his ministry. This secret council, which had with him as much influence as can be exercised over an obstinate man, was composed of Father Petre, the Jesuit, and the Lords Tyrconnel, Dover, Arundel, Castlemaine, and Powys.

The nominal and real advisers of James.

Nothing could have been devised by James more likely to arouse the apprehensions of his subjects than his first two public acts after his coronation. He assisted at the public celebration of a mass in the royal chapel; and he ordered the customs and excise duties to be collected as usual, although they could not be legally demanded until they had been voted by parliament.

The first public acts of James.

Section II.—*Lewis XIV. and James.*

Some apprehension had been felt by the French ambassador, Barillon, that James intended to follow a policy with regard to France differing from that which had been followed by Charles. The courtiers openly declared that England was now to be independent, was to assume her proper position in Europe, and that the supremacy of France was at an end. Barillon represented his fears to

Barillon tries the effect of bribery,

his master, Lewis XIV. The arrogant bearing of Churchill, newly created Baron Churchill, who had been despatched as special envoy to Versailles to announce the death of Charles and the accession of James, in some degree confirmed Barillon's suspicions. Money was however already secretly offered to James, and Barillon soon found that French money was as necessary to the new king as to the late one.

and James's independence yields.

James desired the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, and freedom from the control of parliament. Had he been able to effect these objects without the support of France and without French money, he would have been a happy man, but he was not able; and therefore he bore with the patronage, and took the money, of Lewis, although at the expense of his pride.

Mutual relations of James and Lewis.

Lewis desired to meet with no obstacle in his persecution of the Protestants in France, and to be looked on as the most powerful sovereign of Europe. For these objects England must be kept subservient, and money must therefore be freely provided, both for the private use of the king, and for the judicious bribery of all classes of English politicians.

Section III.—*The new Parliaments in England and Scotland.*

On April 23, 1685, the Scotch Estates met. As Episcopalians only could sit in them, and as these formed but a small minority of Scotchmen, it was not probable that the laws passed by them would be acceptable to the great body of the people, who were ardent Presbyterians. Episcopalians in Scotland were always Tories, and James asked them to continue the same line of conduct as he had pursued when Lord High Commissioner. His letter to this effect was read at the

The Scotch Estates.

opening of the session, and was willingly obeyed. A still more rigid law than had been previously in force was passed against the covenanters. It imposed the penalty of death and of confiscation of property on everyone who preached in a room, or attended an open-air conventicle. The giving or taking the oath of the covenant was also declared treason. The new parliament also proved its adherence to the most extreme form of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, for it solemnly declared its detestation of 'all principles and positions contrary and derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, and absolute power and authority.'

As soon as the act against the covenanters was passed, active steps were taken to carry it out. The counties of Dumfries, Wigton, Ayr, Lanark, and Kirkcudbright, were harassed by bands of regular soldiers and militia. The leader of these bands was the same Graham of Claverhouse who had in 1679 been defeated at Drumclog, and after the battle of Bothwell Bridge had earned the name of 'bloody Claverhouse.' At the head of his regiment of dragoons, he was foremost in the cruel and murderous attempts to exterminate the covenanters. There are historians who attempt to excuse the cruelties practised as necessary to put down an incipient rebellion in a disaffected part of the country; but the perpetrators of the crimes, in their official reports, never speak of their victims as rebels, but as wilful and obstinate nonconformists, and as men holding pernicious doctrines. The persecution was religious more than political, and was doubtless an imitation of the dragonnades of Lewis. The murders of Brown, the carrier, in Lanarkshire, of Gillies and Bryce in Ayrshire, of Margaret Wilson and Margaret Maclachlan in Wigtonshire, roused the feeling of hatred against James and episcopacy to the

Persecutions in the South-western Lowlands.

utmost. The South-western Lowlands, although crushed, were for ever alienated from the house of Stuart.

The English parliament met May 19, 1685. In the attacks made on the charters of many English boroughs, the majority of the electors had lost their privilege of voting, and in such boroughs members who were devoted to James were returned. Tory principles had also undoubtedly gained ground. French gold, again, had converted many wavering politicians into friends of the court. Yet the combination of all these circumstances hardly accounts for the servility shown to James by both Houses in the two short sessions of 1685.

Opening of the English Parliament of 1685.

James's attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, so openly displayed, wrought a great change in the feelings of English churchmen. In the reign of Charles parliament had continually opposed the court and defended the constitution, and the Church had as constantly supported the king; but, in the beginning of James's reign, churchmen, in fear of Rome and of attempts being made to reconcile England with the pope, became the defenders of the constitution, and formed the Opposition in parliament, which now, for the first time in the century, was tamely submissive to the wishes of the sovereign.

Church of England in opposition, whilst parliament is obedient.

The first measures passed by parliament showed James he might depend on its zeal and submission. A revenue of two millions was granted to the king. The severities of the laws against treason were also increased. Amongst other clauses it was enacted that 'any peer of the realm or member of the House of Commons moving to alter or change the descent of the Crown, should be adjudged guilty of high treason, and should suffer accordingly.'

Parliament grants James a large revenue, and makes fresh laws against treason.

SECTION IV.—*Trials of Oates, Dangerfield, and Richard Baxter.*

James could not forget how his honour, his religion, and even his life had been attacked in past years by the false witnesses in the so-called Popish Plots. Many of them were dead or had retired into obscurity, but two, Oates and Dangerfield, were still enjoying the proceeds of their false swearing. Oates was tried on a charge of perjury and was found guilty. Jeffreys, the lord chief justice, presided at the trial. The sentence passed was a barbarous one, taking even into consideration the enormity of the crime which Oates had committed. He was condemned to be degraded from his orders, to be fined heavily, to be imprisoned for life, to be set in the pillory both in Palace Yard and in front of the Royal Exchange, to be flogged by the common hangman from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and on the next from Newgate to Tyburn, and if he survived these floggings to be set in the pillory four times each year as long as he lived. Strange to say, although the floggings were carried out with the utmost rigour, Oates did survive them, and lived to see not only his sentence set aside but his pension restored to him.

Trial of Titus Oates.

Dangerfield was tried for libel, was convicted, and was also sentenced to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate and from Newgate to Tyburn. But in his case the result was more tragic than in that of Oates. Half dead from the flogging, he was jeered at by a hot-headed Tory lawyer named Francis. Dangerfield, with the little strength left him, spat in Francis's face, on which the latter struck him on the head with a walking-stick, and with such violence that he died in a few hours. Francis was put on his trial for the murder, was found guilty, and was sentenced

Trial of Dangerfield and of Francis.

to death. Great efforts were made to obtain Francis's pardon, but without avail, and the sentence was carried into effect. King James doubtless wished, by this refusal to grant a pardon, to gain a character for impartiality.

Yet another trial must be mentioned, as tending to show that James and the court party intended to treat English dissenters as Scotch covenanters were being treated. Richard Baxter, the nonconformist divine, had lived to the age of 70 respected by all parties, churchmen as well as puritans. He had even been offered a bishopric by Charles II. In a Commentary on the New Testament which he had published were certain reflections on the justice of the penal statutes against dissenters. Upon this he was indicted for libel. Jeffreys again presided, and the trial is remarkable for the brutal insolence displayed by him. Baxter's counsel were insulted, Baxter himself was blustered at and abused, and on arguing, in the course of his defence, that there was no evidence to go before the jury on which they could convict, was stopped by Jeffreys exclaiming, 'Don't trouble yourself about that.' It is needless to add he was convicted, was sentenced to a heavy fine, and, being unable to pay the fine, was kept in prison for eighteen months.

Trial of Richard Baxter.

CHAPTER VIII.

REBELLIONS OF ARGYLE AND MONMOUTH.

SECTION I.—*Refugees in Holland.*

THERE were gathered together in Holland a large number of refugees who had fled from England and Scotland to avoid the State prosecutions of the dominant party. Among them were representatives of various

political parties, and of various social ranks. There were zealous Presbyterians, flying from the country in which prelacy was sanctioned by law; there were plotting political intriguers, to whom every fresh intrigue afforded means for replenishing their scanty purses; there were large-hearted philosophers, who sought a land in which they might study and print, without fear of being tried for libel.

A.D. 1685.

Refugees are of various political parties.

Among all these, two noblemen stood forth, pre-eminent from their high rank—the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle.

Monmouth was treated kindly by William of Orange, and was received by him at his court. But William had also hopes that his father-in-law, James, would not sacrifice the interests of Europe and of England to the French alliance; and by means of his ambassador at the English court he was doing all in his power to thwart the schemes of Lewis XIV. He therefore endeavoured to dissuade Monmouth from taking part in, or encouraging, any expedition against James II. To remove him from the temptation of his English friends in exile or at home, William offered, if he would join the emperor, who was then warring with the Turks, to equip and maintain both himself and retinue as became an English prince of the blood. Monmouth, however, would not accept this offer. He was entangled in a discreditable love-affair; for an English noble lady had thrown her fortune and reputation at his feet, and had inflamed his mind with the hope of becoming king of England.

Relations of William of Orange with the Duke of Monmouth.

The Earl of Argyle, smarting under his unjust sentence and detesting James as his personal enemy, had kept up constant communication with the Whig noblemen in Scotland. From what he learnt, he thought the time had

arrived for dispersing the Scotch parliament and abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. He was assured also that his clan, the Campbells, could be trusted to a man. It does not appear that Argyle had any idea of proclaiming Monmouth as king, for there seems to have been no sympathy between the two. It was evident, however, that some co-operation, and apparent common purpose, would conduce to the success of both, and therefore consultations were held. The result of these consultations was that two distinct expeditions were determined on; one under Argyle to land in Scotland, the other under Monmouth in England; and it was further agreed that Argyle's expedition should be first fitted out.

Relations of Monmouth with Argyle.

But before either expedition could be made ready, it was necessary to take more of the refugees into council, and to unfold the plans of the leaders to them. It was hoped that all would be found united and eager for action. But among men of such different aims and of such various reputations, union could be looked for only if some whom all alike respected took the lead. Neither Monmouth nor Argyle was such. Monmouth was too vain and frivolous, Argyle too proud and distant, to kindle enthusiasm in their followers. A curious plan therefore was adopted from the practice of the Dutch. The Dutch were in the habit of appointing one or more civil commissioners to accompany every general in command of an army. The commissioners had the power of controlling the general's operations, unless these were entirely in accordance with a scheme for the campaign which had been previously agreed on. William had himself, as had also many other Dutch generals, been sadly hampered by this burgher-device. Following then the Dutch precedent, two commissioners were sent with each expedition—with that of

Preparations for the expeditions.

Argyle, two Englishmen, Rumbold and Ayliffe, both implicated in the Rye House Plot; with that of Monmouth, two Scotchmen, Fletcher of Saltoun and Fergusson.

SECTION II.—*Argyle's Expedition.*

On May 23, 1685, King James, in a speech to the parliament, announced that Argyle had landed in Scotland.

Argyle sails for Scotland.

The earl had sailed with three ships from Holland on May 2, and, after touching at the Orkneys, had sailed down the west coast of Scotland, and had landed at Campbelltown, on the east side of the peninsula of Cantyre.

> Yet live there still who can remember well,
> How, when a mountain chief his bugle blew,
> Both field and forest, dingle, cliff and dell,
> And solitary heath, the signal knew;
> And fast the faithful clan around him drew,
> What time the warning note was keenly wound,
> What time aloft their kindred banner flew,
> While clamorous war-pipes yelled the gathering sound,
> And while the Fiery Cross glanced like a meteor round.

And from Tarbet the fiery cross was sent forth to summon thither all the Campbells to join the standard of the great earl. To the number of about 2,000 the clansmen assembled, but amongst them no noblemen or gentlemen of mark. From the neighbouring western Lowlands came no supporters, as Argyle had hoped, for they dreaded to bring again upon themselves the visits of Claverhouse's soldiers. And in the councils of the little army dissensions soon arose, as was to be expected, from the presence of the commissioners, Rumbold and Ayliffe. Contrary to his own better judgment, Argyle marched southwards into the Lowlands; but meeting

Argyle lands.

Meets with but little support.

there with but small encouragement, he determined to retrace his steps. The few Cameronians who had joined the rebels refused, however, to march farther north than Inverary. Argyle was now in perplexity, and to add to his trouble, intelligence was brought him that his stores,

ARGYLE'S CAMPAIGN.

which he had landed and placed for security in a castle at the mouth of Loch Ridden, and near which, for greater protection, he had moored his three ships, had been captured, and that his ships had been burnt. Supplies failed him, and the clansmen began to disband.

No other course seemed open to Argyle but again to

turn southwards, and to make an unexpected attempt on Glasgow; in the hopes that if he succeeded he should awaken the enthusiasm of the Lowlanders. With reduced numbers, the army marched into Dumbartonshire, and, in the rugged country between Loch Long and Loch Lomond, found their progress constantly harassed by the royal troops who were gathering round them. Argyle proposed to attack the royal forces, for they were for the most part but newly raised militia; but he was met by objections from the commissioners, who had seen soldiers in scarlet uniform among them. It was therefore hastily determined to endeavour, under the cover of night, to slip through the hostile lines, and to make for Glasgow with all speed.

March towards Glasgow.

Movements of troops by night are at all times, and under any circumstances, hazardous; but if the troops are irregular, such as the Highlanders were, such operations are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, fatal. So it was with Argyle's army. The watch-fires were left burning to deceive the enemy, and the night march began. The guides lost their way in the darkness, and led the troops into some boggy ground. Suddenly a report arose that they were betrayed. They fled in all directions; some fell into the hands of the enemy, others struggled back into Argyleshire and the islands, to carry thither the news of the defeat of their great chief. When morning broke, it was found that but 500 had kept together. Nothing was now left but to disperse as best they could. On June 17, Argyle, disguised as a carter, was taken prisoner and led to Edinburgh. Thither also Rumbold, one of the commissioners, who was wounded, was taken. Ayliffe, the other, was captured and sent to England. No trial awaited the Earl of Argyle. His

Argyle's troops disperse.

Argyle captured and executed on his former sentence.

former sentence of death for leasing-making was still unrevoked. On this sentence it was determined to execute him at once. Argyle's fortitude never forsook him, for he believed in the justice of his cause, and he thought that for his country and religion he was bound to take up arms. So he calmly met his end.

Rumbold and Ayliffe were also executed, the latter in England, his head being placed on Temple Bar.

The usual atrocities followed the defeat of the rebellion. The country for miles around Inverary was laid waste. Hundreds of Campbells were transported to the plantations (that is, to work as slaves in the West Indies), the men with the loss of one ear, the women scarred and branded. The boats and fishing-nets of the islanders were destroyed. Many suspected persons had at the outbreak of the rebellion been confined in the castle of Dunnottar, on the east coast of Scotland. Crowded into one dungeon, many of them died. The survivors were transported.

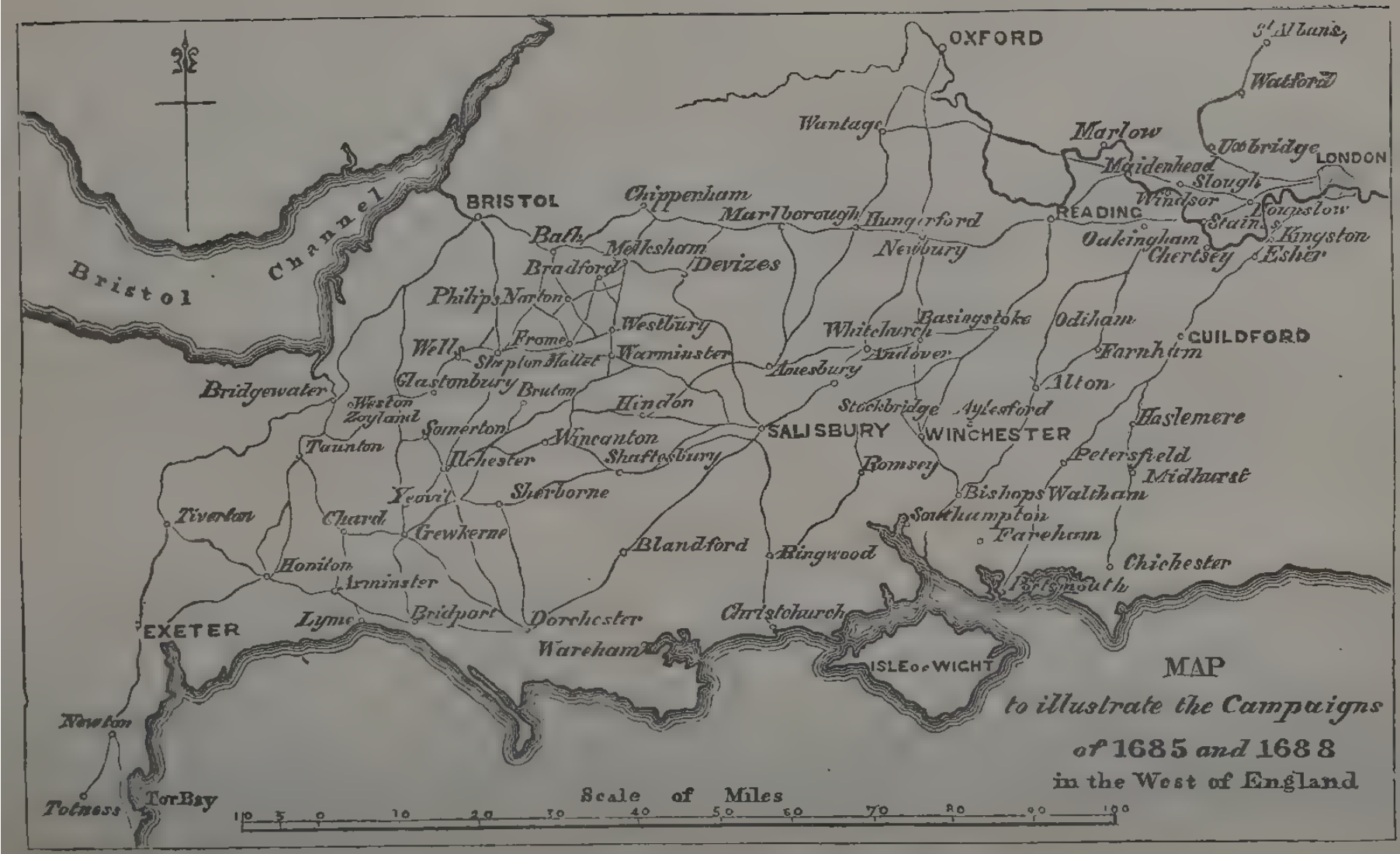
Punishments inflicted on the clan Campbell.

James and his advisers hoped and thought that now, at all events, Scotland was quieted.

Section III.—*Monmouth's Expedition*

It was early in the month of June that Monmouth with his expedition left the coast of Holland. At the request of the English ambassador, William sent an order to the authorities at Amsterdam to detain the ships. But the board at Amsterdam made excuses. They said the vessels were chartered for the Canaries, and before they could venture to detain them they must have formal proof that their intended destination was England. Monmouth determined to put to sea

Monmouth's expedition, after William ineffectually attempts to detain it, sets sail.



MAP
to illustrate the Campaigns
of 1685 and 1688
in the West of England

before further steps could be taken. The expedition consisted of three vessels, conveying Monmouth, Lord Grey, and only 80 followers, but with arms and equipments for a small army.

William, however, as a proof of his anxiety to assist King James, sent back to London, with all speed, three Scotch regiments in his service.

Escaping the English cruisers in the Channel, Monmouth, after a stormy voyage, arrived on June 11 off Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and landed. A few militia were in the town. These ran away, and the townspeople welcomed him with shouts of 'A Monmouth! a Monmouth!' His standard was set up in the market-place, and a proclamation, of which Fergusson, the commissioner, was said to be the author, was put forth. It recited various charges against James; that he was endeavouring to subvert both the Protestant religion and the English constitution; that he had caused London to be burnt in 1666; that he had been the originator of the Popish plot disclosed by Oates; that he had assassinated the Earl of Essex, and had poisoned the late king. The proclamation asserted also that Monmouth was the legitimate son of Charles II., and therefore rightful heir to the crown of England.

Monmouth lands in Dorsetshire, June 11.

The common people flocked to Monmouth's standard. The day after the landing, 1,500 foot and a few horsemen had joined him. The summer of 1684 had been a very dry one; it had been followed by a winter so severe that for months all agriculture had been stopped, and this hard winter had been again succeeded by a long drought. Great distress therefore existed, and particularly in the West of England. Popular distress often produces popular disaffection. The government of James was credited with much of the scarcity caused by the inclemency of the seasons. Monmouth's

Many people join Monmouth.

advent was therefore hailed with delight by the ignorant peasantry, and Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Somersetshire supplied recruits for his forces.

A few half-trained militia were the only troops to oppose Monmouth. Bridport was garrisoned by 300 of these. Monmouth detached Lord Grey from Lyme to attack Bridport. He placed under his orders about 400 rebel foot and all his small body of horse. The militia marched out of Bridport to meet Grey. An indecisive engagement took place. The militia first wavered and then stood firm; their firmness dismayed Grey's cavalry; these took flight, and did not draw bridle until, accompanied by Lord Grey, they had reached Lyme. The rebel foot, although deserted by the cavalry, withdrew in good order.

Indecisive skirmish of Lord Grey.

The militia of Devonshire, under the command of the Duke of Albemarle, lord lieutenant of the county, were assembled at Exeter for their annual training. Putting himself at the head of 4,000 of these, Albemarle marched to meet the insurgents. Coming up with their advanced guard at Axminster, his men proved so untrustworthy that, although he was in much greater force, he feared an engagement, and retreated to Exeter. Monmouth declined to follow Albemarle, and continued his march to Taunton, at which town he arrived on June 18.

Devonshire militia prove untrustworthy.

Monmouth's entry into Taunton was a triumphant one. The church bells rang out; the young girls of the town strewed flowers before him; standards, embroidered with the royal arms, were presented to him. Intoxicated with this reception, Monmouth caused himself to be proclaimed king. Although none but the lower orders had as yet joined him, the Whig nobility and gentry of the western counties had looked on his expedition with no unfriendly eyes, and were

Monmouth at Taunton.

doubtful as to the course which they should themselves adopt. But by allowing himself to be proclaimed king, Monmouth disclosed his intentions, and at once caused the waverers to draw back. The heir to the throne of James was as yet his eldest daughter, Mary, married to the great statesman of Europe, who alone held his own against the King of France. Nor were the Whigs disposed to substitute for him the handsome, weak, licentious Monmouth. Henceforth the failure of Monmouth's expedition was but a question of time.

On the news reaching London of Monmouth's having landed in Dorsetshire, the parliament was hastily adjourned until the autumn. The militia of Wiltshire was called out under the Earl of Pembroke, and that of Gloucestershire under the Duke of Beaufort. The Sussex militia, under Lord Lumley, marched westward. Thither also were despatched all the troops in London, except the three Scotch regiments, which, having been sent back to James by William, were retained for the defence of the capital. The regular troops under the command of Lord Feversham numbered 2,500 men, and about three days' march in advance of them was sent the regiment of the Blues under Lord Churchill.

News of Monmouth's landing brought to London.

Monmouth marched from Taunton to Bridgewater with 6,000 men, 1,000 being cavalry; but these latter were ill-disciplined, and their horses, not being trained to stand fire, were more dangerous to their friends than to their foes. From Bridgewater he proceeded to Glastonbury, thence to Wells, and from Wells he made for Bristol, which town was supposed to favour his cause. But Bristol was occupied by Beaufort and his militia, and was thought too strong to be attacked. Monmouth now retreated in the direction of Bath, Churchill hanging on to his rear

Monmouth's marchings and countermarchings.

and flanks, and cutting off his stragglers. The garrison of Bath was too strong to be taken by a *coup-de-main*, and Feversham with his army was close to the city. Monmouth therefore turned southwards to Frome, repulsing on his way an attack made by the advanced guard of the royal troops. From Frome he returned to Wells, and thence again to Bridgewater, his forces being reduced in numbers by the long marches and bad weather. The main body of Feversham's army had now reached Sedgemoor, about three miles from Bridgewater, where they encamped.

Battle of Sedgemoor. July 6.

Sedgemoor is a morass, intersected by deep and broad ditches called rhines, and Feversham's encampment was covered in front by one of these, called the Old Bussex rhine. Monmouth took the resolution of attacking the royal army in its encampment, and of doing so by a surprise by night. As has been said before, irregular troops cannot be trusted to carry out movements such as night attacks, which require the utmost discipline and order. Monmouth's guides brought him to the brink of the rhine, fronting Feversham's encampment. This was too deep to be crossed. The insurgents halted in doubt. Shots were fired across the rhine, and these roused Feversham's troops. Making a detour, they fell on Monmouth's army. Lord Grey and his horse were the first of the insurgents to give way. The stout peasants and miners of the west country fought with desperation. The waggons filled with ammunition had been cut off by the Blues. Grey reported that his cavalry had fled, so Monmouth made up his mind that all was lost. In the early dawn he, with Lord Grey and two others, rode off as fast as they could towards the New Forest. Deserted by their leaders the insurgents endeavoured to fly; but Colonel Kirke, at the head of his Tangier troops, followed them in close pursuit. As the

Scale of half a Mile
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¼
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Sketch of the
BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR
July 6th 1685.
N
Monmouth's Infantry advancing
Grey advancing
Rebels routed
SEDGEMOOR
King's Regt of Horse
Cavalry dispersed
Monmouth attacking
Horse Guards & Grenadiers
Royal Army advancing
Rhine
Duke of Grafton
Dumbarton
Delawarr's Regt from the left flank
The Bridge
Camp of Royal Artillery
Royal Cavalry
Royal Cavalry
Weston Zoyland

regulars came up with the stragglers, they put them to death, often under circumstances of the greatest barbarity. The villages round were searched, and all persons found sheltering fugitives were arrested. On the flag carried by Kirke's soldiers was a paschal lamb, a badge which had been conferred on them when fighting against the Mahomedans. The peasantry of the West in irony called them 'Kirke's lambs.' The battle of Sedgemoor, if battle it can be called, was the last which was fought on English soil.

Monmouth and Grey, when their horses were worn out, proceeded on foot in the disguise of countrymen. On July 7, they separated, and Grey was soon taken near Ringwood. The next day Monmouth also was found, concealed in a ditch, and half dead from want of food. Both prisoners were at once despatched to London; Monmouth exhibiting both fear and depression, Grey appearing more calm and collected than on the field of battle.

Monmouth and Grey captured.

On being taken into the presence of the king, Monmouth made the most degrading appeals that his life might be spared; but James was inexorable. Seeing therefore that all hope was over, he recovered his equanimity, and at his execution behaved with fortitude. He was brought to the scaffold July 15. A serious tumult had nearly arisen at the last, for the executioner blundered at his work, and the spectators yelled with fury. With the mob Monmouth had always been popular, and for years his memory was reverenced by them as that of a Protestant hero and martyr.

Monmouth executed, Grey fined.

Lord Grey, who was wealthy, was allowed to ransom his life by the payment of 40,000*l*., and in the succeeding reign, as Earl of Tankerville, he again took an active part in politics.

Section IV.—*The Bloody Assize.*

James, ever revengeful, thought the proceedings of Kirke and his lambs too lenient. He therefore despatched Jeffreys on a special commission, to try all those who were implicated, either as rebels or as having given shelter to rebels. This assize, known as the 'Bloody Assize,' was by James called Jeffreys' campaign. The result of the trials was that about 300 persons were executed, nearly 1,000 more transported to Virginia and the West Indies, and many besides were whipped and fined. A bribe of 2,000*l.* was paid to the maids of honour of the queen, in order to obtain the pardon of the young girls of Taunton who had presented Monmouth with a standard.

Jeffreys in the West

But no trial was conducted with greater harshness, in none did the brutal coarseness of Jeffreys show itself less undisguised, no sentence, and consequent execution has excited so great indignation, as that of Lady Alice Lisle. Hers was the first trial, and she was the first victim. The aged widow of John Lisle, one of the judges who had presided at the trial of Charles I., she had long lived a retired life in the neighbourhood of Winchester. She was now accused of harbouring fugitives from Sedgemoor. The jury hesitated to find her guilty, but after being bullied and browbeaten by Jeffreys, they gave a reluctant verdict. The sentence passed by Jeffreys was that she should be burned alive. With the greatest difficulty her friends (amongst whom were Lord Feversham, the victor at Sedgemoor, and Lord Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law), obtained the commutation of the sentence. She was to be beheaded, and not burned. Five days after the trial, the sentence was carried into effect at Winchester.

Trial and execution of Lady Alice Lisle.

CHAPTER IX.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY.

SECTION I.—*Second Session of Parliament in* 1685.

THE parliament, which had been hastily adjourned on the news of Monmouth's landing in Dorsetshire, was ordered to reassemble on November 9. As it had already proved so obedient to his wishes, the king hoped to find it in a tractable mood.

A.D. 1685.

Parliament reassembles November 9.

But two events had in the interval occurred, which materially affected the views of those Tory members of parliament who were not blind adherents of the court, and had not been corrupted by French gold. The first of these events was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The court endeavoured to prevent the intelligence of the edict having been revoked from spreading in England. The Gazettes, published twice weekly, did not mention what was passing in France. It was only by private letters, and by the arrival of numerous French refugees on the shores of England, that the news was promulgated. Evelyn, in his diary, remarks, 'Whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appear'd very extraordinary in a Protestant countrie, that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffer'd.' The second event was the dismissal of Lord Halifax from his office of president of the council. James found Halifax, although a 'Trimmer,' of not sufficiently facile principles. He had, in his place in the council, told the king that he could not sanction by his vote the repeal of either the Test Act or the Habeas Corpus Act. On the repeal of these obnoxious statutes James had fixed

Temper of parliament.

Halifax dismissed.

his heart, and although Halifax had been the chief agent in setting aside the Exclusion Bill, and should for this reason have earned the gratitude of James, he was abruptly dismissed and his place given to Lord Sunderland.

Halifax had, with more consistency than was usually shown by him, always strenuously opposed the policy of Lewis XIV. William of Orange therefore learnt from his dismissal, that the promises of his father-in-law, that England should not support the ambitious schemes of the French king, were not to be relied on. The Stadtholder consequently took active measures to devise some coalition by which, independently, and in spite of James, these schemes might be counteracted.

Effect of Halifax's dismissal on William of Orange.

In his speech on the meeting of parliament, James asked for a 'supply,' to enable him to keep in his service the regular troops now under arms, as the experience of the militia in the late troubles proved that they could not be depended on. He also added that as some of the officers of the army could not comply with the requirements of the Test Act, he hoped that this Act might be repealed. Now the Test Act, which had been passed in 1673, compelled all persons holding any office or commission under the Crown to take the sacrament according to the order of the English Church, and to sign a declaration against the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. It was owing to the passing of this Act that James himself had, in days gone by, been obliged to resign the office of lord high admiral. The Act, moreover, was looked on not only by the Whigs, but also by all moderate Tories and churchmen, as the great safeguard against the encroachments of the Romish Church.

James proposes to abolish the Test Act.

The Commons at once acceded to one of the king's requests, and were prepared to grant 700,000*l.* as a supply

for the troops. This proved them to be in a compliant mood, for they conceded the principle of a standing army, which was so generally repugnant to English statesmen and patriots. But the repeal of the Test Act, which would enable Popish officers to be in command of the newly-formed army, was a measure which the court, with all its influence, could not carry. The House was subservient to James, but not his slavish tool. In a division, the court party was beaten by a majority of one (183 to 182). Halifax's influence was strong enough to prevent the Lords placing themselves in opposition to the Commons.

James therefore, enraged and bitterly disappointed, resolved to prorogue parliament at once. He did not even wait until the 700,000*l.* was formally voted, but prorogued the Houses on November 27.

The same parliament never again met for the despatch of business. It was formally prorogued twice in 1686. and finally dissolved in July 1687.

SECTION II.—*Foreign Policy of James;* 1686. *League of Augsburg.*

The Elector Palatine, brother of the Duchess of Orleans, had died without issue in 1685. His nearest male relative had succeeded. The duchess claimed certain lands as hers, by right of succession to her brother.

A.D. 1686. Disputes in the Palatinate fostered by Lewis.

At her marriage with the Duke of Orleans, she had renounced all claims on the Palatinate. Lewis, following out his policy of sowing dissension in the empire, supported the claims of the duchess. The Elector Palatine appealed to the Emperor to protect him.

William of Orange saw a good opportunity of re-

straining Lewis. He arranged a league of all the princes of the empire, consisting of the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and Sweden, as holders of principalities in the empire, the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and all the inferior princes. The object of the league, called the League of Augsburg, was to maintain the provisions of the Treaty of Nimwegen ; and, to enforce the observance of the treaty, an army of 60,000 men was to be raised, and the necessary funds supplied, by the princes who subscribed to the league. The league was to continue in force for three years. William was not himself a party to the actual league, since he was not a prince of the empire, but he was the ruling agent in its formation.

League of Augsburg

During all the intrigues and counter-intrigues on the Continent, Lewis and his able representative Barillon were striving to persuade James to enter into a formal alliance with France. On the other hand, William of Orange, the Emperor, and the Pope were endeavouring to keep James from committing himself with Lewis. The Pope (Innocent XI.), already vexed with Lewis's pretensions, was actuated in this step by his desire not only to prevent the aggrandisement of Lewis, but also to arrest the increasing influence exercised over James by the Jesuits, an order to the principles of which he was much opposed. The proceedings of James were evidently of the greatest interest, for his open espousal of Lewis's policy might turn the scale in the balance of power. It was soon apparent to whose side his inclinations leaned. The sovereign who had revoked the Edict of Nantes was one congenial to James.

James favours Lewis.

Sunderland was, from his long residence in France, well known to Lewis. Bribed by an annual pension of 6,000*l.* he consented to advocate Lewis's measures in the council ; and he agreed, moreover, secretly to embrace the Romish faith.

Sunderland is bought by Lewis.

The confessor of James, the Jesuit Father Petre, persuaded him to send an embassy to the Pope, in order to try and detach his Holiness from any alliance with the Emperor. On account, however, of the pope's known antipathy to the Jesuits, the ambassador selected, Lord Castlemaine, was instructed not to enter into any engagements with the Papal See without the consent both of the General of the Order of Jesuits and of the French ambassador at Rome.

James sends an embassy to the Pope.

James thus openly showed his predilection for the French alliance; and whilst he looked coldly on his ministers Rochester and Clarendon, who remained staunch to the English Church, he made Sunderland, the convert, his confidential adviser.

SECTION III.—*Home Policy of James*; 1686.

James next showed that he was bent on overstepping the limits placed by the constitution on the power of the Crown. He claimed the dispensing power of the sovereign; he obtained from a bench of judges a verdict allowing this claim; he established a new ecclesiastical commission; and in order to overawe the capital he encamped his regular troops on Hounslow Heath.

James's encroachments on the constitution.

There were certain cases in which lawyers had held that the Crown had power to grant dispensation from complying with the terms of statutes. But these were only private cases involving no public interests, and the dispensations were such as are granted by bishops when they excuse a parish incumbent from residence, and were always dispensations from statutes a too rigid interpretation of which might cause a private injury. But no lawyer had ever held

James claims the dispensing power.

that the Crown had power to dispense with the conditions required by the common law of the land. James however claimed as his prerogative that he might practically set aside the Test Act, by granting a dispensation from the prohibitions and penalties laid down by it.

In order to try the power of the Crown an indictment was laid against Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, who had been appointed by the king colonel of a regiment and governor of Dover castle, and had not, previously to entering on the duties of these offices, qualified according to the terms of the Test Act. The case was heard before the Court of King's Bench, twelve judges being present. The court was presided over by the new chief justice, Herbert; Jeffreys having been made lord chancellor. On June 21, 1686, judgment was delivered in favour of the accused. Eleven out of the twelve judges agreed that the king had power by his prerogative to dispense with penal laws, and for reasons of which he was sole judge; and that this prerogative of the king could not be restrained by statutes. The effect of this judgment was to declare the sovereign absolute, and uncontrolled by laws made by parliament.

Case of Sir Edward Hales.

James's claim allowed by the King's Bench.

This decision was another proof to Englishmen that their constitutional liberties were in danger of being again trodden under foot by a Stuart, and caused a strong feeling to arise in favour of the next heir, Mary and her husband, William of Orange. Lewis, on the other hand, congratulated James that he would now be able to rule as befitted a monarch. Taking advantage of the judgment in his favour, James created several Roman Catholic peers, and his confessor, Father Petre, privy councillors.

Father Petre and Roman Catholic peers made privy councillors.

A collection had been authorised to be made in the

churches, for the purpose of relieving the refugees whom the tyranny of Lewis XIV. had thrown on the English shores. But James had at the same time ordered the clergy to desist from preaching on controversial subjects, and from discussing in their pulpits the conduct and character of the French king. He required the several bishops to see this order carried out. The dean of Norwich, who was also rector of St. Giles, London, disobeyed the order. For this disobedience the bishop of London (Compton) was requested to suspend him from his clerical duties and emoluments. The bishop declined to punish the dean more severely than by withdrawing for a few months his license to preach. In order to show the bishops and the clergy that he was not to be trifled with, James forthwith established a new ecclesiastical commission. This proceeding was illegal on the king's part. The ecclesiastical commission court of Queen Elizabeth had been long abolished by act of parliament, and the same act had provided that no new court of like powers should be constituted. In spite of this act, James issued the new commission in the very words which had created the original court.

James forms an ecclesiastical commission to keep down the clergy.

The court was composed of the archbishop of Canterbury (who never took his seat), the bishops of Durham and Rochester, the Lords Sunderland and Rochester, Jeffreys, the lord chancellor, and Herbert, the lord chief justice. Three of these might form a quorum, but it was provided that the chancellor should be always one of the quorum. Immediately on its creation, the court summoned before it the bishop of London, and, after deliberations extending over several days, suspended him from his office.

The new commission suspends the Bishop of London.

The army encamped on Hounslow Heath consisted of

nearly 13,000 men. It was commanded by Lords Feversham and Dumbarton, both of whom were Papists. Hither James continually repaired, treating both officers and men with studied goodwill.

James visits his army.

Samuel Johnson, a clergyman of the Church of England, was in prison for an alleged libel on James, when Duke of York, in a book called 'Julian the Apostate.' From his prison he wrote an address to the Protestant soldiers encamped at Hounslow, adjuring them not to allow themselves to be tools in the hands of a tyrant bent on persecuting and exterminating the Protestant faith. Johnson was again placed on his trial for this, and sentenced to lose his gown, to be placed in the pillory, and to be whipped through London.

Samuel Johnson is convicted of attempting to excite the soldiers.

To add to the distrust excited by Roman Catholics sitting at the privy council, various orders of Roman Catholics were permitted to open schools in London and to found monasteries. Benedictines were located in Saint James's, the Jesuits in the Savoy, the Franciscans in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Carmelites in the City. Schools were opened by the Jesuits, and owing to the high reputation of that order for education, attracted many scholars. Pamphlets were also printed, and distributed widely, in defence of Romanism.

Spread of Roman Catholicism.

James endeavoured to propitiate the nonconformists also by allowing them equal privileges with the Romanists. Formal declarations of liberty of conscience were published both in England and in Scotland. No restraint was to be placed on any sect in the exercise of its religious services. But this affectation of liberality on the part of James deceived few. The Anabaptists, and some of the more extreme sects,

Declarations of indulgence.

insignificant, in point of numbers and influence, alone thanked the king, and took advantage of the indulgence.

The great battle between Protestantism and Romanism, still undecided on the Continent, had, at the beginning and middle of the seventeenth century, merged in England into the contest of Episcopacy or Anglicanism, supported by the Crown, against nonconformity and liberty of conscience. But at the close of the century it had in England again reverted to the old form of struggle. Now the fight was between Protestantism, championed by the Church of England, and Papacy, protected by the king.

The contest between Protestantism and Romanism.

The Crown had secured for itself the support of the bench, and of all the lawyers who aspired to a seat on the bench. The lawyers of the Temple made themselves indeed notorious for their sycophancy by sending an address to the king thanking him for the declaration of indulgence, and concluding by stating their determination to defend, if need were with their lives and fortunes, the divine maxim, 'a Deo rex, a rege lex' ('the king is made by God, and the law by the king').

Subserviency of the lawyers.

SECTION IV.—*Attack of James on the Universities.*

James, feeling sure of the support of his law officers, aimed a blow at the universities, and through them at the Established Church, which raised a ferment throughout his kingdom never allayed during the remainder of his reign. The universities had never, in the darkest hour of the Stuarts, flinched from their loyalty to the throne; and as a reward for their constancy they were now attacked. No wonder then that the country squires and country rectors, the Tory supporters of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, felt that no sacrifices on their

Indignation felt against James, and sympathy for the universities.

part would insure their safety from the spoiler, the encroaching Romish Church, since the universities, whose teaching and whose loyalty they had followed, were not spared. At Cambridge a small band of philosophical students resided, who had long inculcated the doctrine of religious liberty, and had endeavoured to show that this liberty existed in, and was best fostered by, an Established Church. They were held in respect by the Whigs and by moderate nonconformists, but they now learnt that their own doctrine might be perverted into one which was injurious to the liberties of their Alma Mater.

The rights of the Established Church and of the universities were encroached on by James in the following instances. The bishopric of Oxford was given to Dr. Parker, who, although a married man and nominally a Protestant, had nevertheless declared that he held absolutely all the doctrines of the Romish Church.

Dr. Parker made bishop of Oxford.

In December, 1686, the deanery of Christchurch, Oxford, became vacant. Massey, a Romanist, was installed as dean by the king's orders. James informed the papal nuncio that what he had done at Oxford he would also do at Cambridge.

Dr. Massey made dean of Christchurch.

In February 1687 a degree was demanded from the University of Cambridge for a certain Francis, a Benedictine monk. The vice-chancellor, Dr. Pechell, master of Magdalen College, declined to accede to this demand unless Francis consented to take the oaths required by the university. Francis refused, and Dr. Pechell and the other university authorities were summoned before the ecclesiastical commission. Pechell was deprived of his office as vice-chancellor and suspended from the emoluments of his mastership.

A.D. 1687.

Dr. Pechell deprived of the vice-chancellorship of Cambridge.

The presidentship of Magdalen, Oxford, fell vacant

Fellows of Magdalen, Oxford, ejected.

The court recommended to the fellows, for the vacant post, one Anthony Farmer. By the statutes of the college the president must have been a fellow either of Magdalen or of New College. Farmer had been a fellow of neither, and he besides possessed every disqualification for such an office. He had escaped expulsion from Cambridge by hurriedly quitting that university; he had then joined the dissenters, afterwards had entered at Magdalen, Oxford, and had earned notoriety by his profligacy and evil life. He had now turned Papist as an easy means of rising in the world. The fellows met, and in spite of the royal recommendation elected Dr. Hough, one of their body, a man well fitted for the post. The fellows were cited before the ecclesiastical commission. The proofs of Farmer's unfitness were so convincing that the commission did not try to force him on the college, but Hough's election was declared invalid. James soon after sent a letter ordering the fellows to elect as their president Parker, the bishop of Oxford. The fellows replied that the presidentship was not vacant. They remained firm, although James sent several influential men (Penn, the Quaker, amongst the number), to remonstrate with them. At last a troop of soldiers was sent to expel the recalcitrants. Bishop Parker was formally installed, two only of the fellows being present. James said that no further steps should be taken against the disobedient fellows if they would ask for pardon and acknowledge their error. This they refused to do, and they were consequently deprived of their fellowships. In a few months all the revenues of Magdalen College were enjoyed by Papists.

Section V.—*The Autumn of* 1687.

The camp was again formed on Hounslow Heath, and was frequently visited by the king and queen, both in state and privately.

On July 3 the king received in state the papal nuncio. He could hardly venture on this outrage on Protestantism in London, so Windsor saw a train of thirty-six carriages, amongst which were those of the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, conducting with unwonted pomp the ambassador of the pope.

Reception of the papal nuncio.

James had discussed with his council the expediency of this step, and also of dissolving the parliament, which had not met for business for twenty months. The more moderate members of the council, although they were firm Tories and loyal to the reigning house, were opposed to both these measures of the king, and when they found him resolved on them, thought it advisable to resign their seats at the council-table.

Resignation of several privy councillors.

Lord Sunderland and Father Petre were now virtually the sole ministers, and James, with their concurrence, dissolved the parliament, hoping that a more subservient one would be elected. With this object the work of remodelling the corporations was pressed on, in order that the members of the corporations should be confined as much as possible to such as were of the Romish faith, or were nonconformists.

Parliament dissolved.

In the autumn of 1687 James made a progress through the West of England, in the hope of gaining over that part of the country in which Monmouth had found his chief support. Among his suite on this occasion was William Penn, the Quaker, whose presence James thought would conciliate the dissenters. The king expressed himself as everywhere satisfied with the marks of

affection and loyalty shown to him; but a disinterested and keen-sighted spectator, Barillon, the French ambassador, reported to his master, Lewis, that there was no real enthusiasm for James, and that he saw on the other hand evident signs of disaffection.

CHAPTER X.

IRELAND UNDER JAMES II.

SECTION I.—*Preliminary Sketch of Ireland.*

THE people of Ireland were of two distinct races; the native Irish, who were Celts and Roman Catholics, and the colonists, who were, in Leinster and the settled part of Munster, of English descent, and in Ulster, the northern province, of Scotch descent. A great number of the English settlers were old soldiers of Cromwell and Nonconformists; the remaining English were descendants of the colonists of Elizabeth's reign, and were Episcopalians. The settlers of Ulster, the Scotch colonists, were for the most part Presbyterians.

Population of Ireland; how divided.

Although the Irish parliament, sitting in Dublin, was composed entirely of Protestants, the penal laws against Roman Catholics, which were in force in England, had not as yet been introduced into Ireland, and Roman Catholics enjoyed free exercise of their religion.

Religious liberty in Ireland.

The native Irish, occupying the whole of the province of Connaught, and some small parts of Munster, led lives which were almost barbarous. Sept, or clan-law, still held sway amongst them. Their chiefs were but little more civilised than the common people, their one great virtue being that of hos-

Uncivilised state of native Irish.

pitality, and this was exercised to such an extent as to keep them impoverished.

Continually had the Irish been in rebellion, and each rebellion, as it had been put down, had been followed by the confiscation of the lands of the rebels. During Cromwell's firm and severe administration, the Irish had been forcibly driven into Connaught, or transported to the plantations in America; while thousands of the better class, permitted to emigrate, had taken service in the armies of Spain and other foreign nations.

Cromwell's treatment of the Irish.

The population of Ireland may be roughly estimated as at this time about one million native Irish, and about two hundred thousand English and Scotch colonists. But all the influence in the country was exercised by the latter, for the Irish, divided amongst themselves, were utterly deficient in that power of organisation which would have rendered them, by reason of their superior numbers, formidable.

Number of the population.

After the Restoration (1660) the Episcopalian Church became again the Established Church in Ireland. This anomaly caused a numerous hierarchy and a large number of inferior clergy to be appointed, to take spiritual care of a scattered population, not equalling in souls one of the smaller English dioceses.

Episcopacy established in Ireland.

On the re-establishment of the monarchy in England, the chief settlers in Ireland, many of whom were old Cromwellian soldiers, offered the crown of Ireland to Charles II., on the condition that the lands they were now in possession of should be legally secured to them. An Act of Settlement was accordingly passed, by which the actual holders of the land, on payment of a small fine to Charles, became its legal possessors. Of the lands not claimed, or thus legally settled, a great part was granted to James Duke of York,

Causes of the disaffection of Irish.

and to courtiers of the king. But many of the native Irish, both nobles and gentry, had been warm supporters of the Stuarts against the Commonwealth, and had suffered for their loyalty, and these were loud in their complaints of Charles's want of faith and justice. A court of claims accordingly sat, and after many hundred claims had been heard by it, and pronounced valid, the Irish parliament passed a compromise, called an Act of Explanation, by which one-third of the grants under the Act of Settlement were yielded to the Irish royalists, in order to satisfy their demands. But this concession was not nearly sufficient, and consequently a feeling of disaffection became widespread throughout the native Irish.

SECTION II.—*Ireland at the Accession of James II.*, 1685.

At the accession of James II., in 1685, he found the native Irish, all of whom were Roman Catholics, opposed to the English rule, as to that of a conquering minority, whilst the few nobles who, not of choice but from interest, were inclined to be friendly to England, were prevented by their religion from sitting in the Irish parliament. Of the settlers, the Scotch Presbyterians shared the feelings of their brethren in their native country, and hated Episcopalians with the true religious fury. In the Irish Parliament the Presbyterians and Episcopalians were nearly balanced, whilst the Protestant Nonconformists, in numbers almost equalling the other two parties, had but few seats in the Parliament. The Episcopalians alone were hearty supporters of the house of Stuart; the Presbyterians and Nonconformists were Whigs.

A.D. 1685. Parties in Ireland in 1685.

James was in a most favourable position for tranquillising Ireland, for, as a Roman Catholic, he was much more acceptable to the native Irish than his predecessors had been. Had he followed his true interests, he would have endeavoured, firstly, to unite

Policy of James.

together, as firmly as possible, the English settlers in Ireland, and secondly, by wise acts of mediation, to bridge over the differences between the English and Irish. Thus he might have welded them into one people. James, however, followed a directly opposite policy, and the results of this misgovernment of Ireland are visible at the present day.

The Duke of Ormond was at the time of the death of Charles II. both lord lieutenant and commander of the forces. He was a staunch Protestant, and as being an inhabitant of Ireland, descended from an English colonist, and of great wealth and high rank, he was the natural head of the English in Ireland. But soon after his accession James recalled him, and the office of lord lieutenant was bestowed on his own brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, whilst the post of general of the troops was given to Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel.

Recall of Ormond.

Section III.—*Clarendon and Tyrconnel.*

Talbot was descended from one of the old Norman families settled in Leinster, but his immediate ancestors had fallen into poverty and were in no wise to be distinguished from the native Irish gentry. He had come to London, when young, as an adventurer. He soon gained an evil notoriety, and was employed by both Charles II. and James in many discreditable deeds, in which he had shown that he was deterred by no scruples from shedding blood or from breaking his oath. He was a coarse, vulgar, truculent ruffian, greedy and unprincipled; but in the eyes of James he had great virtues, for he was devoted to the Romish Church and to his sovereign. 'Lying Dick Talbot,' as he was called, was raised by James to the peerage as Earl of Tyrconnel.

Richard Talbot.

Lord Clarendon was, from the time of his appointment, hampered by his associate. He was anxious to govern the country justly, and to sow the seeds of union. He wrote to James long despatches, entering minutely into the condition of Ireland, and pointing out the measures by which he thought the mutual animosities of the races might be allayed. But Tyrconnel violently opposed all his plans, and at last set off for London to have an interview with James.

A.D. 1686. Clarendon's measures opposed by Tyrconnel.

The result of that interview was the recall of Clarendon. With his fall from power was associated that of his brother, Lord Rochester, who was at the same time dismissed from his office of lord treasurer and from his seat on the ecclesiastical commission. The disgrace of the king's two brothers-in-law, supposed to have been caused by the attachment of both to the Protestant faith, was deeply felt both in England and Ireland. In England it was considered to be one further blow aimed at Protestantism. But the English in Ireland knew that it meant nothing less than that the Papists and Irish were in the ascendancy, and that their lives and property were in jeopardy. To add to these feelings of insecurity, Tyrconnel returned not indeed as lord lieutenant, but with the power which Ormond had formerly held, although under a new title, that of lord deputy.

A.D. 1687. Hyde's dismissal from office.

SECTION IV.—*Tyrconnel as Lord Deputy of Ireland.*

The rule of Tyrconnel entirely subverted the old order of things. Protestants were disarmed, and Protestant soldiers were disbanded. The militia was composed wholly of Roman Catholics. The dispensing power in the royal prerogative set aside the statutes of the kingdom, and the bench and

Roman Catholics favoured by Tyrconnel.

privy council were occupied by Roman Catholics. Vacant bishoprics of the Established Church remained unfilled, and their revenues were devoted to Romish priests. Tithes were with impunity withheld from the clergy of the Establishment.

Tyrconnel proposed to summon a parliament, but James withheld his permission. Barillon had told the king that Tyrconnel had traitorous designs in summoning a parliament; that he intended to declare Ireland an independent kingdom, and had even asked the assistance of Lewis XIV. for his plans. Tyrconnel, on being called on for an explanation, said that all his schemes were laid in order to prepare a safe asylum for James and the royal family in case of a successful Protestant revolution. The actual truth was, that Tyrconnel also was in the pay of Lewis XIV.; that Barillon's disclosures to James revealed only half the matter; that these disclosures were made because it was thought that James might discover the intrigue through some other source; and that, in case James died without male issue (at this time a most probable event), Tyrconnel was to declare Ireland a dependency of France, and, if the parliament were summoned, was to have induced that body to support his declaration of separation from England.

French intrigues in Ireland.

The hatred of the Irish Roman Catholics towards the Protestant settlers was excited to the utmost under Tyrconnel's rule. The former now hoped to mete out to the latter a full measure of retaliation. The breach was widened owing to the fear and distrust openly showed by the Protestants, and has never since been effectually repaired.

Hatred of Roman Catholics towards Protestants.

CHAPTER XI.

WILLIAM, LEWIS, AND JAMES DURING THE WINTER OF 1687 AND SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1688.

SECTION I.—*William gathers Information and opens a Correspondence with the Disaffected in England.*

THE general insecurity felt in England in 1687 had caused many influential noblemen to urge on William of Orange an active interference. William, however, with that calm judgment and patient forbearance which were characteristic of him, decided that the opportune time had not as yet come. For the defence of Germany he had negotiated the League of Augsburg, and had thus frustrated the schemes of Lewis XIV. in that quarter. But James had not yet openly committed himself to an offensive alliance with France, and Lewis's interference in English politics had been confined to personal advice to James, to bribery of the nobility and leading politicians, and to various underhand intrigues.

A.D. 1687. William thinks the pear not sufficiently ripe.

The Stadtholder, however, sent over to London a trustworthy agent, Dykvelt, to report to him on the state of affairs. He engaged also a Whig refugee, Dr. Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, to go to the Hague and act as his secretary in corresponding with his English friends. Burnet (whose 'History of his own Time' is one of the chief sources of information for students of the Revolution of 1688) was a Scotchman, and had been a professor at Glasgow, whence he had gone to London, and had been made a chaplain to Charles II.; but on account of his intimacy with Russell and the leaders of the Whig party, he had thought it prudent, soon after the Rye House Plot, to retire to Holland.

William assists Dykvelt and Burnet.

Dykvelt, on arriving in London, held interviews with many influential statesmen, both there and in the country, without in any way committing his master. He sought the opinion of both Tories and Whigs, avoiding only those who were tainted with Romanism. His reports confirmed William in his policy of waiting. When he returned to Holland Dykvelt took with him letters from Lords Danby and Halifax, assuring William of their co-operation whenever and however he might think fit to move more actively. Lord Churchill, the petted protégé of James, wrote also to William, offering him his services, and professing himself ready to die the death of a martyr for the Protestant religion.

Dykvelt returns to Holland.

But when the Hydes (Lords Clarendon and Rochester) were dismissed from their offices, such feelings of distrust were raised that men of both political parties in England importuned William to take some decided step. William, determined accurately to gauge the state of the country, dispatched another agent, not as before a diplomatist like Dykvelt, but a soldier, Zulestein, able to observe with a soldier's eye the signs of loyalty or disaffection to James in the army on Hounslow Heath, and to judge with a soldier's perception what reliance, in a military point of view, could be placed on William's adherents, and more particularly on his friends in the English navy. Zulestein was connected by ties of family with William, and was therefore a person of sufficient distinction to be invited to the houses of the English nobility; and as he did not visit England officially, his presence did not bring down on his hosts the suspicions of James. On his return to Holland, Zulestein made a much more favourable report than Dykvelt had, of the strength of William's party. He also brought back with him fresh letters of adherence

Zulestein in England.

Henceforth, the friends of William in England kept up a constant correspondence with the Hague.

Section II.—*October*, 1687.

Another event occurred to strengthen the views of those who advised William of Orange to take immediate action. Mary, William's wife, was at present heiress-presumptive to the throne of England, and one of William's reasons for inactivity was that sooner or later he would be able to make use of the power of England in restraining the inordinate pretensions of the King of France. But now (October 1687), to the astonishment of everyone, it was announced that the birth of a child was expected by the queen. She had already borne James four children, all of whom had died in their infancy, and six years had elapsed since the birth of the last. She was also no longer young.

Queen's expected confinement.

The announcement was received at first with incredulity, but as by degrees its importance began to be realised, the joy of the Roman Catholics knew no bounds. They declared that the expected event was owing to the direct intervention of the Deity; and that it was a miracle vouchsafed to the prayers of the faithful. They likened the queen to Sarah and to Hannah, mothers in Israel. The Protestants, both Whig and Tory, believed that it was an impudent attempt of the Papists to foist a supposititious child on the country; and that it was a Jesuitical plot and intrigue against William, the champion of the Protestant faith in Europe.

How the news of it was received.

So, uneasily, passed away the winter of 1687–88.

Section III.—*The Second Declaration of Indulgence, and Trial of the Seven Bishops.*

In April 1688, James put forth a second declaration of indulgence. As in the former one published in 1687, this also suspended all penal laws against nonconformists, and abolished religious tests as qualifications for office; but it contained this important addition, that the king would employ no one, in either a civil or military appointment, who refused to concur in this new declaration. Concurrence, therefore, in the declaration was made the new test.

A.D. 1688. Second Declaration of Indulgence.

James announced also his intention of summoning a parliament in November, and appealed to his subjects to choose representatives who would aid him in carrying the measures he had so much at heart.

James talks of calling together a Parliament.

On May 4 an order of council was passed commanding the clergy of all denominations to read the declaration from their pulpits on two successive Sundays. The first of these Sundays was to be for London parishes, May 20; for the country ones, June 3. Meetings of the clergy took place on the publication of this order. The High Church party, who had thus far always preached the doctrine of passive obedience and of the divine right of kings, agreed that this order was an insult to the Church which even their principles would not compel them to put up with. The more liberal-minded clergy, and those who were inclined to the politics of the Whigs, declared that, under the guise of liberty of conscience, a blow was aimed at the Established Church, the maintenance of which they held to be the safeguard against Rome and intolerance.

Declaration ordered to be read in churches.

The clergy are indignant.

At a general meeting held at Lambeth, a petition to the king was drawn up, and signed by the archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops. It prayed the king not to insist on their reading the declaration, which contained 'such a dispensing power as Parliament had declared illegal.' The names of the 'seven bishops,' as they are commonly called, should not be forgotten. They are—Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells; Lake, bishop of Chichester; Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Sir J. Trelawny, bishop of Bristol; Turner, bishop of Ely; White, bishop of Peterborough.

Protest of the Seven Bishops.

As the archbishop, owing to his refusal to sit on the ecclesiastical commission, had been forbidden the court, the six bishops carried to James their petition. The king was furious. He told the bishops they were rebels, but that there were still left seven thousand of the Church who had not bowed the knee to Baal; that he would keep the petition, and would not forget who had signed it; that no good churchman ever yet denied the dispensing power of the Crown. Ken asked James to grant to them the same liberty of conscience which he granted to others. On James refusing to do this, the bishop rejoined, 'We have two duties—one duty to God and one duty to your Majesty.' The king became yet more angry, and dismissed them. Ken, as he retired, ejaculated, 'God's will be done.'

Interview of the bishops with James.

In very few churches or chapels in the kingdom was the declaration read.

The primate and his six suffragans were summoned before the king in council. They acknowledged the petition to be theirs. They were accordingly ordered to find bail to answer a criminal information for libel in the King's Bench. This they declined to do, as it would be yielding up their legal

The bishops committed to the Tower.

privileges as peers of the realm. They were accordingly committed to the Tower. Their passage to the Tower, by water, resembled a triumphal procession. Between two lines of boats the bishops passed, amidst shouts of 'God bless your lordships!'

On June 10 an infant prince was born. No time could have been more inauspicious. Throughout England James was unpopular. The birth of the prince produced a fresh complication in the tangled web of European politics.

Birth of a prince.

On June 15 the archbishop and bishops were brought into court to plead. Their counsel took legal objections to their commitment; but these were overruled, and the trial was fixed for June 29.

The bishops committed to trial.

During the intervening fortnight tumults took place. Papists were insulted. Huge bonfires were lighted. In the West of England, where the memory of Monmouth was still revered, the peasantry prepared again to take up arms. The Cornish miners, who loved Trelawny as the representative of an old cherished Cornish family, sang

Public excitement.

'And shall Trelawny die, and shall Trelawny die?
Then twenty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why.'

On the appointed day the trial commenced. The defendants were charged with publishing a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The counsel for the defence urged that there was no publication, for the petition was placed in the king's hand; that the petition was not false, for all that it contained was in the journals of Parliament; that it was not malicious, for the defendants had not sought to make strife, but had been placed in the situation in which they found themselves by the action of the Government; that it was not sedi-

The trial.

tious, for it was seen by the king alone; that it was not a libel, but a decent petition, such as subjects might lawfully present to their king. Two great constitutional questions were thus before the court—the denial of the dispensing power of the king, the claim of the right of every subject to petition.

The counsel for the prosecution were weak in their speeches. The high-handed measures of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys had so disgusted all the more dignified of the legal profession that the crown found difficulty in filling the higher offices of the law. There were four judges on the bench. Two summed up in favour of the crown; the other two, Holloway and Powell, in favour of the bishops. The jury retiring to consider their verdict, sat all night in consultation, and at ten in the morning brought in a verdict of 'not guilty.'

The verdict.

The joy of the populace knew no bounds. Westminster Hall resounded with shouts, which were taken up throughout London and its suburbs. James had gone to Hounslow to visit the camp. An express messenger arrived announcing the verdict. The soldiers raised cries of exultation at the acquittal of the bishops. This prosecution united all classes in opposition to the Government. The cause of the Church and the cause of freedom was for once the same. The great majority of the peers, both lay and spiritual, the universities, the clergy, the dissenters, the army, the navy, the landed gentry, the merchants, all, in short, who called themselves Protestants, were firmly knit together to oppose the king and his Romish advisers. The Tories no longer held to their doctrine of passive obedience; they now maintained that extreme oppression might justify resistance, and that the oppression which the nation now suffered was extreme.

How the verdict was received.

SECTION IV.—*The Invitation to William.*

In May, Edward Russell had gone over to the Hague to represent the actual state of affairs in England, and the necessity of active interference on the part of William. Russell (a cousin of William Lord Russell) was an officer in the navy, and had once been a member of James's household, when James was Duke of York, but had resigned on the fall of the Whigs. William spoke most cautiously to Russell. He told him he wanted written invitations and promises of support from men of position of all parties. Russell answered that it was necessary to the success of the design that it should not be known to a great many. To this William assented, and said he would be satisfied if the signatures were few in number, provided they were those of statesmen representing great interests. Thus commissioned, Russell returned to London. To Dykvelt William remarked, 'Aut nunc aut nunquam'—'Now or never.'

Visit of Edward Russell to the Hague.

On the 30th of June, the day of the acquittal of the bishops, Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor, set off for the Dutch coast. He was the bearer of a paper signed in cypher. Those who had signed were but seven. They were the Earl of Devonshire, who represented the old Whig party; the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, bred a Roman Catholic, had been converted to Protestantism by Archbishop Tillotson; the Earl of Danby, a Tory, who had been driven from power by the Whigs, but whose chief political maxim was hostility to France and Lewis XIV.; Compton, the suspended bishop of London, who represented the clergy; Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon Sidney, who represented those holding the more extreme political views for which his brother had suffered on the scaffold; Lord Lumley, who had hitherto been attached

Admiral Herbert carries William an invitation.

to the cause of James, and had done good service in suppressing Monmouth's insurrection; and Russell, who represented the chief officers of the navy. Some have called these seven 'the seven patriots.'

The letter, which invited William to land in England with a body of troops, assured him 'that the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied as themselves; that nineteen out of every twenty are desirous of a change; that very many of the common soldiers do daily show such an aversion to the Popish religion that there is the greatest probability they would desert; and amongst the seamen there is not one in ten who would do James any service.'

The terms of the invitation.

William made up his mind at once to sail for England.

Before entering on an account of William's success, it will be well to point out briefly the difficulties of his position.

He was at the head of a small republic, which at great sacrifices and with great difficulty had succeeded in preserving its independence against the assaults of Lewis XIV. He had now to prepare an expedition, neither too small, lest it might be crushed by James; nor too large, lest it should drain the resources of his country, and leave her unprotected. He had to guard against the jealousy of his Dutch subjects. He had to trust the representations of the 'seven patriots,' who might after all be judging of their countrymen by their own wishes. He could not but see that the English nation had displayed for some years past but little love of freedom or spirit of resistance to tyranny. He knew that Monmouth and Argyle had both failed. He knew also, that however loudly the nation exclaimed against Popery, the pulpits of its Established Church had for years been filled by clergy

Difficulties of William's situation.

who preached the doctrine of passive obedience, its seats of justice had been occupied by lawyers who pronounced that doctrine to be the law of the land, and its later parliaments had admitted the same fatal principle.

These difficulties must be borne in mind in order to form a fair estimate of the great man who in the face of them formed his determination, and in spite of them succeeded in his design.

Section V.—*James's Proceedings after the Acquittal of the Bishops.*

As soon as the news of the acquittal of the bishops was brought to Hounslow, James took horse and hurried to London. He had thus the mortification of seeing the rejoicings, the bonfires, and fireworks which the result of the trial produced. The spirit of revenge, which was natural to him, was aroused. He issued an order to the archdeacons to report to the High Commissioners the names of all the clergy who had omitted to read the declaration. He dismissed from the bench the two judges Holloway and Powell, who had summed up in favour of the bishops. He rewarded those who supported his own views, and, still further to vex English churchmen, and to gain over the dissenters, Dr. Titus, a noted Presbyterian, was made a member of the Privy Council.

James' anger is roused.

James learnt, from the acclamations of the troops at Hounslow, that they were not to be depended on. He therefore broke up the encampment in July, and trusted by a personal appeal to each regiment singly, to win them back to their fidelity, and to engage their aid in carrying into effect his determination concerning the test. He made his first attempt at extracting a personal engage-

James disappointed with the troops brings over Irish.

ment from the men of each corps with Lord Lichfield's regiment, now the 12th Foot. In this he failed, the soldiers with hardly an exception declining to sign any engagement. James left the ground on which the regiment was paraded, exclaiming, 'I shall not do you the honour to consult you another time.' Thus baulked, he determined to bring over Irish battalions, raised and trained by Tyrconnel, and also to enlist in English regiments Irish recruits brought over from their country for that purpose. These steps, however, still further increased the disaffection of the army. English and Irish hated each other with a deadly hatred. In some cases, the attempt to introduce Irish recruits into a regiment excited a mutiny.

Disaffection increases.

The spirit of disloyalty raised by the trial of the bishops was aggravated by these various acts of James in the months of July, August, and September.

Section VI.—*Lewis Declares War against the Emperor.*

We have seen how the claims of the Duchess of Orleans to some of the possessions of the Elector Palatine had been supported by Lewis, had then been referred to the Emperor, and by him had been disallowed; and we have also seen how Lewis's attempted interference by arms was frustrated by the League of Augsburg. Another quarrel now arose between the French and Imperial courts. The archiepiscopal electorate of Köln (Cologne) had become vacant. Lewis was desirous that a protégé of his, von Fürstenberg (brother of the Bishop of Strasburg, who had been instrumental in gaining possession of that city for the French), should be elected to fill the vacancy. The Emperor, on the other hand, wished to place a Bavarian prince in the electorate. The Pope, opposed to Lewis,

Dispute about the electorate of Köln.

supported the Emperor's candidate. The chapter of Köln had to decide between the rivals. French influence prevailed and von Fürstenberg was elected by the majority of the Chapter (15 votes to 9). This election the Pope declared invalid, insisting further that the Bavarian was the rightful elector.

Against this decision Lewis appealed to arms. In spite of the Pope, he proclaimed war against the Emperor. All the German princes who had joined the League of Augsburg were united against France. Lewis had been informed by his ambassador at the Hague that William was fitting out an expedition, but with such skill had the destination of it been concealed that it was not until the month of September that the ambassador learnt it was intended for England. Lewis lost no time in warning James of the designs of William, and in offering him assistance.

Lewis takes up arms,

and warns James of William's designs.

Had Lewis been free now to direct a large army on Holland, the States-General would not have allowed William to move from home, nor to take with him Dutch troops; but the war with the Emperor demanded all the French troops, and for weeks before the actual declaration of hostilities the army stationed on the borders of Flanders had been steadily making towards the Rhine. Lewis did, indeed, instruct his ambassador to inform the States-General that if any direct act of hostility was committed by Holland against his ally, the King of England, he should consider it as a declaration of war.

Lewis's war with Germany opportune for William.

James, on his part, after receiving the warning of Lewis, gave him no encouragement to interfere more actively. To the offer by the French king of naval assistance James replied in a contemptuous manner, either wishing his subjects to suppose that he himself felt safe on his throne, or giving

James refuses Lewis's offers of help.

way to one of those outbursts of sullen pride to which he was subject.

Chances of William's success are great.

The unpopularity of James with his subjects and the war against Germany undertaken by Lewis were two great aids in ensuring the ultimate success of William.

Section VII.—*William's Proclamation.*

In September a proclamation was drawn up for William which was translated into English by Burnet for circulation. It was dated from the Hague, October 10, and set forth in temperate language the various grievances to which the English people had been subjected. It stated that their liberties, laws, and religion were imperilled; that the birth of the young prince was attended by such grave suspicions as to demand the strictest and most impartial investigation; that at the request of many lords, both temporal and spiritual, and of other persons of all ranks, he (William) had been requested to repair to England, accompanied by such forces as would be sufficiently strong to repel violence.

The proclamation of William.

It concluded by solemnly assuring Englishmen that in thus acting William had no thoughts of conquest, that the troops should be kept under the strictest discipline; that as soon as the nation was free he could send them back to Holland, and that his sole object was to obtain the assembling of a free and legal parliament which should decide all questions public and private.

James makes concessions.

James now became fully alive to the situation. He was willing to make concessions. He gave audience (October 2) to all the bishops then in London, and listened to their advice without bursting into a passion. They counselled him to return to a legal course of government, to summon a

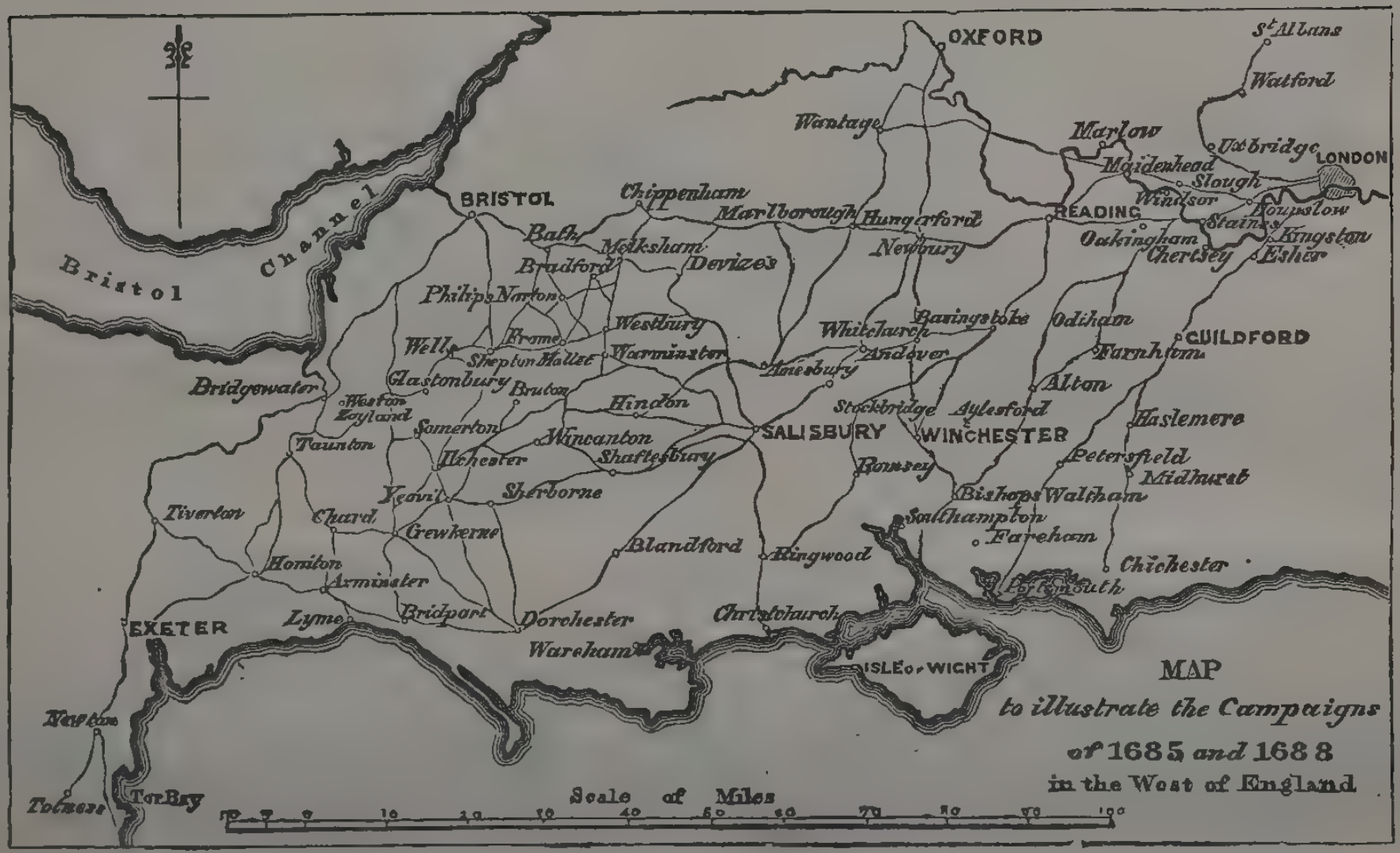
parliament, to abolish the Ecclesiastical Commission, to redress the wrongs done to the corporate towns and the universities, and, if possible, to rejoin the church of his father and grandfather. As if to add force to the counsel of the bishops, and to quicken James's decision, riots broke out in London, and several Romish chapels were burnt.

Some of the suggestions of the bishops were adopted by James. Many dignitaries who had been displaced—Compton, bishop of London, among them—were reinstated. The charter of the city of London was carried back in state to the Guildhall. The Ecclesiastical Commission was abolished. The president and fellows of Magdalen were restored to their college. Sunderland and Father Petre were dismissed from their seats in the council. But the king would not yield his claim of the 'dispensing power.'

On October 21 James met at Whitehall all the peers, both spiritual and temporal, who could be collected, the judges, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and laid before them minute proofs of the birth of the Prince of Wales. The evidence was sufficient to convince impartial minds, and all those present were satisfied. But the great majority of the people were still unconvinced; they were not impartial, and there were few English Protestants of that generation who did not consider the young prince an impostor, whom the Jesuits were endeavouring to foist on the country.

Proofs of the birth of the prince produced.

Burnet's translation of the 'Declaration' of William reached London about November 1, and was secretly and swiftly passed from hand to hand.


OXFORD
St Albans
Watford
Wantage
Marlow
Uxbridge
LONDON
Maidenhead
Slough
Windsor
Hounslow
Staines
Kingston
Esher
Chertsey
Oakingham
READING
Newbury
Hungerford
Marlborough
Chippenham
BRISTOL
Channel
Bristol
Bath
Melksham
Devizes
Bradford
Philips Norton
Westbury
Frome
Wells
Shepton Mallet
Warminster
Whitchurch
Basingstoke
Odiham
GUILDFORD
Farnham
Andover
Ambresbury
Alton
Bridgewater
Glastonbury
Bruton
Hindon
Stockbridge
Aylesford
Haslemere
Somerton
Wincanton
SALISBURY
WINCHESTER
Taunton
Ilchester
Shaftesbury
Romsey
Petersfield
Midhurst
Yeovil
Sherborne
Bishops Waltham
Tiverton
Chard
Crewkerne
Southampton
Fareham
Blandford
Ringwood
Honiton
Axminster
Chichester
Portsmouth
EXETER
Lyme
Bridport
Dorchester
Christchurch
Wareham
ISLE of WIGHT
Newton
Torbay
Teignmouth
Scale of Miles
MAP
to illustrate the Campaigns
of 1685 and 1688
in the West of England

CHAPTER XII.

The Revolution.

Section I.—*William in England.*

On the 16th of October William took leave of the Dutch Estates. He told them that he went to England in defence of the reformed religion, and of the independence of Europe; 'that he might not return, but in that case left his beloved wife in their care.' He himself spoke with unfaltering voice, but the Assembly was not equally calm, many of the members being moved even to tears. But William remained 'firm in his usual gravity and phlegm.'

William takes leave of the Dutch.

On the 19th, the embarkation took place at Helvoetsluys. The fleet consisted of 50 men of war, 25 frigates, some fire ships, and 400 transports, having on board 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry fully equipped. Much discussion and some difference of opinion had arisen as to the part of England on which the descent should be made. Lord Danby had been anxious it should be in Yorkshire, and thither the fleet was first steered.

William sets sail.

But few hours had passed at sea before a violent west wind arose, which drove the ships back to harbour. An English fleet, commanded by Lord Dartmouth, lay at the mouth of the Thames. An east wind, which would be favourable to William, would prevent James's fleet from leaving its anchorage. For days, however, the west wind blew, and Dartmouth was prepared, on the first intelligence of William's fleet putting to sea, to sail for the Yorkshire coast.

Contrary winds delay the fleet.

During this delay, William altered his plans. He resolved to land in the West of England, in that West which had before shown its attachment to Protestantism by proclaiming Monmouth, and had in consequence suffered so much from

William sails down channel.

James and his creature Jeffreys. The wind at length changed on the 1st of November; a favourable easterly breeze set in, 'a Protestant wind.' For the second time William put to sea. The transports were in the centre; to windward and leeward the Dutch men-of-war were formed, William's flagship among them, to protect the transports. The rear of the fleet was brought up by a squadron under Admiral Herbert, so that in case Lord Dartmouth should come up with the fleet, he would find himself confronted by English ships. But the east wind effectually prevented Dartmouth from following William. Favoured by a fresh gale, William's fleet rapidly sailed down channel without meeting a hostile ship.

William lands.

Off Torbay the fleet cast anchor, and William landed. The day of his landing was November 5, the day already endeared to Protestants, the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. Dr. Burnet was amongst the first to disembark and present himself to William. Understanding nothing of military matters, he fussily interrogated William as to his plans, as to which way he intended to march, and when, and desired to be employed by him in whatever service he should think fit. William was 'cheerfuller than ordinary.' He replied by asking Burnet what he now thought of predestination, and by advising him, if he had a mind to be busy, to consult the canons.

Marches to Exeter.

William now set to work to make arrangements for the landing of his troops. By noon of the 6th, the whole force was on its way to Exeter. There William remained for ten days. He was at first disappointed at not being joined by the nobility and gentry. Lamplugh, the bishop, had fled from the city, to join James. But before a week was over, the news of William's

arrival at Exeter with a large army had spread, and many men of consideration joined his standard.

The Dutch troops of William were regarded with friendly feelings. The farmers, the tradesmen, and the peasants of the West were struck by the contrast between William's soldiers and those whom James had formerly billeted on them. Instead of living at free quarters amongst them, all provisions were punctually paid for, and the people consequently willingly sold to the soldiers whatever they required.

The Dutch troops well received.

SECTION II.—*Progress of the Revolution.*

But it was not in the West of England only that the standard of William was raised. Lord Delamere in Cheshire put himself at the head of his tenants, and rode through Manchester, rousing the townspeople. The Earl of Danby, at the head of one hundred gentry and yeomanry, dashed into York, and gaining over the militia, who received him with shouts of 'A free Parliament and the Protestant religion,' placed the governor under arrest, and won the city for William. The Earl of Devonshire, equally successful in Derby, marched thence to Nottingham, where he was joined by Lords Manchester, Stamford, Rutland, Chesterfield, Cholmondeley, and Grey de Ruthyn.

Revolution in the North

Norwich was seized for William by the Duke of Norfolk. Oxford, the headquarters of Toryism, welcomed Lord Lovelace with acclamations, town and gown uniting in shouts of 'No Popery.'

East and Centre of England.

Lord Feversham, commander-in-chief of the royal forces, had despatched troops to the West with the utmost speed, in order to check William's advance. James's army greatly exceeded in numbers that of William, but his officers were not to be trusted. The van, consist

ing principally of cavalry, had reached Salisbury, where it had halted. The officer in command was Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, and nephew to the king. On the 14th of November he led three regiments out of the town towards Blandford, under the pretence of surprising an advanced outpost of the Prince of Orange. On the road he tried to induce the soldiers to join him in deserting to William. Finding himself less successful than he anticipated, he, with a few followers, galloped off, leaving the troops to return to Salisbury. News of this desertion reached James on the 15th. His grief, and that of his queen, was excessive. But the man under whose influence Cornbury had acted was Lord Churchill.

Defection of Lord Cornbury.

Section III.—*Lord Churchill.*

John Churchill had been in boyhood a page of the Duke of York. He stood high in James's favour, and his interests were well looked after. He received a commission in the Guards, and served in Africa. He afterwards accompanied James both on the Continent and to Scotland, and was with him when he was shipwrecked. In 1681 he married Sarah Jennings, an attendant on the Princess Anne.

Churchill's early career and marriage.

The influence of Lady Churchill over Anne was unbounded. By her interest, Churchill in 1682 was promoted to a colonelcy in the Guards, and to a Scotch peerage. On the accession of James the Scotch peerage was converted into an English one.

Lady Churchill.

In the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, Churchill was high in command under Feversham. But notwithstanding the confidence placed in him by James, and the favours he had received, Churchill entered into correspondence with William, before that prince had resolved on his expedition to England. He saw that the cause of James was a losing cause.

Churchill corresponds with William.

Therefore he deliberately set about to betray his patron. By his connivance a widespread conspiracy among the officers of the army was arranged, and the first-fruit of this was the defection of James's nephew Cornbury.

Churchill's after career showed him to be a man of the greatest genius. He shone alike as a general and a diplomatist. But his character for faithlessness he never lost. Loving his wife with a devotion which was almost romantic, he threw himself, heart and soul, into her schemes; and her schemes were all directed to personal aggrandisement and to heaping together wealth. Churchill was true only to that cause, or that master, who best requited his services. He unhesitatingly sacrificed his patriotism, his promises, and his friends to his own and his wife's greed and ambition. It is true that he had been brought up in a profligate and unprincipled court, that his education had been entirely neglected, and that his conduct was not worse than that of many of the politicians of the day. But the glory he afterwards achieved, and the greatness of his natural powers, bring into stronger light the base motives which regulated his conduct.

Character of Churchill.

Section IV.—*Collapse of the Court Party and attempt of the King to fly.*

James called together the chief officers of his army still in London, and consulted them as to the spirit of disloyalty which had manifested itself. Among those present at this council were Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, Kirke, and Trelawny, brother of the bishop of Bristol. All swore they would be true to the last drop of their blood.

Churchill and other officers swear to be loyal.

A large body of peers, both lay and spiritual, with the

archbishop, Sancroft, at their head, presented to James a petition, asking him to summon a parliament and to negotiate with the Prince of Orange. The king indignantly refused to listen to their arguments in favour of the terms of the petition. 'Was this a time,' said he, 'to call together a parliament, when a foreign enemy was in the country?' Then, attended by the officers in whom he trusted, but by whom he was being betrayed, he set out for Salisbury, where he arrived on the 19th.

James refuses the lords' petition and sets off for his army.

Feversham waited on James immediately after his arrival, and reported the spread of disaffection in his army. News also arrived that the troops of the Prince of Orange were advancing from Exeter. A council of war was held on the evening of the 24th. Feversham proposed that the king should retire with his army to Windsor, lest William should cut him off from the capital. Churchill was for advancing. James was inclined to take the advice of the latter, and was on the point of proceeding to Warminster, where Kirke and Trelawny were stationed with their regiments, when a sudden attack of bleeding at the nose detained him in his lodgings. Had he set out, he would have found himself betrayed into William's hands. During the succeeding night Churchill and Grafton deserted, and with Kirke and Trelawny and their regiments joined William. On the morning of the 25th, James and his troops were in full retreat towards London.

Disaffection spreads.

Prince George of Denmark, Anne's husband, had accompanied James. On reaching Andover, he and the Duke of Ormond supped with the king. Before the next morning both were miles away on their road to join William. The king was less hurt by their defection than by that of his old favourite and protégé Churchill, but he had yet to learn the further grief the latter had prepared

Prince George of Denmark and Princess Anne leave the king.

for him. On reaching London on the 27th he found that his daughter, the Princess Anne, had on the previous night, accompanied by Lady Churchill, and escorted by the bishop of London, set out to join the insurgents under Danby at Nottingham. The unhappy king now fairly broke down. 'God only can help me, for my own children have forsaken me,' he exclaimed.

London was in an uproar. On the afternoon of the 27th a council of peers, temporal and spiritual, was held at Whitehall. James announced that now the aspect of affairs had changed. He said that he had declined to accede to their petition before his departure for Salisbury, but that now he would do so. A parliament should be summoned to meet on the 15th of January, a free pardon should be granted to all now in rebellion, and a commission should be appointed to treat with William. As an earnest of the change in his conduct, James dismissed Sir Edward Hales, the papist, from his office as lieutenant of the Tower. Barillon, however, who was in James's secret confidence, wrote to Lewis that all James's promises were but a feint, and that he intended going over to Ireland, after he had sent his wife and child to Lewis for protection. Some days before, James had ordered Dartmouth to convey the infant prince in his fleet from Portsmouth to France, but Dartmouth had refused to obey, pointing out to the king the evil consequences of such a step.

James offers concessions,

but is insincere.

In the meantime the commissioners accredited by James to William proceeded to Hungerford, where the prince's army was encamped. A slight skirmish had taken place between the king's Irish troops and William's advanced guard near Reading. In this the temper of the English had been conclusively shown, for the townspeople of Reading had joined the Dutch in attacking the Irish, declaring the latter to be the natural enemies of English

Conference between the commissioners of James and William.

men. The terms which the commissioners agreed on with William were: that the latter should halt his troops twenty miles to the westward of London, that the troops of James should be removed an equal distance to the east, that Romanists should be dismissed from office, and that the Tower and Tilbury Fort should be placed in the hands of the Londoners.

The queen and her child escape.

Whilst the conference was taking place at Hungerford, the queen and the infant prince were (December 10th) placed on board a vessel lying in the Thames, and, favoured by a fair wind, were well on their voyage to France.

On the evening of the 10th James learnt that the queen and his son had been got off safely. Early on the morning of the 11th he secretly left his palace, and, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, took a wherry, crossed the river, throwing into it the Great Seal, and made the best of his way to Sheerness.

James flies.

Feversham had been ordered by James to disband his soldiers. The London mob, hearing of the king's flight, and no longer in fear of the troops, began to riot. The Romish chapels were pulled down, the houses of ambassadors were pillaged. Sunderland and Father Petre were sought for, but without success, for they had previously left the kingdom; but Jeffreys was caught, disguised as a sailor, in a low public house at Wapping, and was handed over to the lord-mayor, who placed him in the Tower.

Riots in London.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INTERREGNUM, AND EVENTS IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND ON THE CONTINENT.

SECTION I.—*James quits England.*

THE peers who happened to be in London, amongst whom were archbishop Sancroft and Halifax, met at the Guildhall, in association with the lord mayor and aldermen, to concert measures for the public safety. They secured the Tower, and despatched messengers to William, urging him to come to London without delay. They also sent instructions to Lord Dartmouth, forbidding him to engage with the Dutch fleet, and enjoining him to dismiss all Popish officers under him.

A.D. 1688. Measures taken to preserve peace.

James had, unfortunately, been stopped near Sheerness by the Kentish fishermen. They thought he was a fugitive of importance, perhaps the hated Father Petre the Jesuit. The Earl of Winchilsea chanced to be at Canterbury, and heard that a great personage had been detained. He hurried to Sheerness, and found the king in the hands of a rough and ill-disposed mob. He immediately sent a messenger to the provisional government in London. Feversham was ordered to take a troop of Life Guards to protect the king, and to bring him to London. This detention of James was most inopportune, for to it mainly is owing the rise of the Jacobite party in England. If James had got clear away, it would have been held by the Tories and the believers in the 'divine right,' that the king had deserted his people, and that therefore the people were set free from their allegiance, and were at liberty to take any steps to provide for the security of the nation. But the fact that James was brought back to London, escorted by

James brought back to London.

troops, and the events which followed, together gave a colour to the statement that he was ultimately driven away by a faction; and Sancroft showed that the king's return in his opinion altered the position of affairs, for on hearing that James was in England, he at once absented himself from the council. It was on the 17th of December that James re-entered London and took up his abode at Whitehall.

The 17th of December at Windsor.

William had already reached Windsor when the news of James's return was brought him. Soon after, Lord Feversham arrived with a letter from James to William, proposing a conference. William at once declined, but he detained Feversham with him, and sent his refusal by Zulestein, one of his most trusted Dutch officers. Halifax and the majority of those peers who had formed the provisional government also hurried to Windsor to meet William. The state of affairs was critical. William desired the peers to consult together, but declined to be present at their deliberation, requesting them, however, to let him know at once the result. The conclusion at which they arrived was that, as the preliminary to any settlement of affairs, James must be requested to leave London.

William thought the demand a proper one, and told Halifax and two other peers to take it to the king. Ham House, near Richmond, was proposed to James as a suitable residence.

Lord Clarendon's advice to William.

It was at this juncture that Lord Clarendon, James's brother-in-law, who had followed his son's example in deserting James, requested a short interview with William, and used every argument to induce William to place James in secure confinement, urging as one reason that it was the only means of preserving tranquillity in Ireland, and of preventing the utter extinction of the Protestants in that island. But

William resolutely refused to put any personal restraint on his wife's father.

Early on the morning of the 18th, James was aroused by the arrival of the three peers from Windsor. He refused to go to Ham, but said he would prefer Rochester as a residence. William was glad enough to give his consent, for Rochester was a convenient place from which James might make his escape, and his voluntary flight would remove many difficulties from William's path.

James chooses Rochester as a residence.

Whilst James was proceeding down the river to Rochester, William entered London, guarded by the British soldiers in the Dutch pay, and took up his abode at St. James's. His entry was a triumphant one. Orange ribbons and orange flags were everywhere displayed. All the persons of consequence in London hastened to pay him their respects. But now the difficulty arose how to provide for a temporary government. It was proposed to William, and agreed to by him, that a 'Convention' should be summoned. Accordingly the House of Lords was convoked, and a second house was formed of all those who had sat in any of *Charles's* Parliaments, and of the lord mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of London. Both Houses were unanimous in requesting William to administer the government for a time, and to issue circular letters to the counties and boroughs to send up representatives to a Convention, which was to meet on January 22, 1689.

William's entry into London.

Convention summoned.

On the 22nd of December, James, with four companions, escaped from Rochester. They sailed down the Medway in a small boat, boarded a vessel in the Thames, and in three days James had joined his wife and infant child at St. Germains, in France. Personal fear hurried him to fly. His

James at length escapes.

father's fate was before his eyes. Sancroft prayed him to remain; Graham of Claverhouse, who had been by him created Viscount Dundee, wrote to tell him he was coming to his succour with a Scotch army; but both entreaty and proffered help were without avail. The events of the last few days had completely unnerved him, and without letting his adherents know of his resolution, he fled to the protection of Lewis XIV. On the next day Barillon was ordered by William to leave England within twenty-four hours. In vain he pleaded ambassadorial rights. William would tolerate no spy on his conduct, and the wily and able envoy unwillingly set off for his native land.

Barillon dismissed.

SECTION II.—*The Convention.*

On January 22, 1689 the Convention met. In the Lower House it was carried, after a slight opposition from the Tories: (i.) That King James having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant. (ii.) That it hath been found by experience inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince.

Commons vote the throne vacant.

But in the Upper House the Tories had more weight, and they again recurred to their belief in the doctrine of passive obedience, and of the indefeasible tenure of the crown. The Lords, therefore, although they agreed to the second resolution of the Commons, sent back the first one with the word 'abdicated'

Lords disagree.

altered into 'deserted,' and with the clause declaring the throne vacant struck out.

In this dilemma a Conference was held between the Committees of the two Houses. It is noteworthy that in the 16th and 17th centuries a spirit of compromise both in religious and political affairs was often prevalent, whereas, in later times, principles are pushed to their limits. And the Conference of 1689 illustrates this. It is also remarkable for the self-control and patriotic feeling displayed by both parties. It would seem as if William's spirit of stern determination to do what he thought to be his duty had rekindled again in English statesmen the same spirit. Both Whigs and Tories appeared to feel that each must yield cherished convictions rather than imperil the State.

Conference between the two Houses.

The deliberations of the Conference resulted in an offer of the regency to William, and the crown to Mary, but this was met by William's refusal, and by the assertion of Mary (who had now joined her husband) that she would not reign except in conjunction with him.

Eventually, on the 13th of February, the crown was offered to William and Mary jointly, and accepted by them. This offer was accompanied by the famous 'declaration of rights,' presented by both Houses, and accepted by William. The draught of the declaration was made by Somers, who had already gained a reputation by his speech in defence of the bishops. The declaration is one of the great events in the constitutional history of England. It is an assertion of the 'true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this realm. It declared:

Declaration of Rights.

(i.) That the making or suspending laws without consent of Parliament is illegal;

(ii.) That the exercise of the dispensing power is illegal;

(iii.) That the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, and other such like courts, are illegal;

(iv.) That levying money, without consent of Parliament, is illegal;

(v.) That it is lawful to petition the sovereign;

(vi.) That the maintenance of a standing army without consent of Parliament is illegal;

(vii.) That it is lawful to keep arms;

(viii.) That elections of members of Parliament must be free;

(ix.) That there must be freedom of debate in Parliament;

(x.) That excessive bail should never be demanded;

(xi.) That juries should be impanelled and returned in every trial;

(xii.) That grants of estates as forfeited, before conviction of the offender, are illegal;

(xiii.) That Parliaments should be held frequently.

It concluded, that 'they (the people of this realm) do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties.'

By this declaration, therefore, the rights of personal security, of personal liberty, and of private property were claimed by the people, and admitted by the crown.

SECTION III.—*The Revolution in Scotland.*

At the first prospect of invasion from Holland, James had ordered the regiments on duty in Scotland to march southward. The withdrawal of the troops was followed by outbreaks in various parts. In Glasgow, the covenanters rose, and proclaimed the Prince of Orange king. In Edinburgh riots broke out. The chapel of Holyrood Palace was dismantled, and the Romish bishops and priests fled in fear for their lives.

Disturbances in Scotland.

On hearing that William had entered into London, the leading Whigs, under the Duke of Hamilton, repaired thither, and had an interview with him. He invited them to meet in Convention. This they accordingly did, and on January 9, 1689, it was resolved to request William to summon a meeting of the Scottish Estates for the 14th of March, and in the interim to administer the government. To this William consented.

Convention meets.

The Estates of Scotland met on the appointed day. All the bishops, and a great number of the peers were adherents of James. After a stormy debate, the Duke of Hamilton was elected president. But the minority (Jacobites) was a large one.

Meeting of the Scotch Estates.

With an eye to any future change, and in order to preserve their titles and estates, many of the Scotch nobility now adopted a singular expedient, which remained in vogue for some years after. The head of the house joined one party, whilst the heir threw in his fortunes with the other.

The Duke of Gordon still held Edinburgh Castle for James, and when the minority found it hopeless to carry their measures, he proposed they should with him withdraw from Edinburgh and hold a rival Convention at Stirling. But these intentions were discovered, many Jacobites were arrested, and many others, amongst them Viscount Dundee, escaped to the Highlands.

Minority disaffected

In the end, the crown was offered to William and Mary on the same terms on which it had been offered by the English Convention. The offer was accompanied by a claim of rights, almost identical with the English declaration, but containing the additional clause, that 'prelacy was a great and insupportable grievance.'

The crown of Scotland offered William and Mary.

On April 11, 1689, William and Mary were solemnly proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh.

It was high time some form of government should be settled, for, throughout the Lowlands, scenes of mob violence were daily witnessed. The Presbyterians, so long down-trodden, rose in many a parish. The Episcopal clergy were ejected, in some cases with bloodshed. The 'rabbling,' as it is called in Scotch history, continued for some months, until the Presbyterian Church was reinstated by law as the Established Church of Scotland, in June 1690.

The rabbling.

SECTION IV.—*The Revolution in Ireland.*

In Ireland, the Revolution made but little progress. Tyrconnel had disarmed all the Protestants, except those in the North. He had a large force of 20,000 men under arms, and of this force all the officers were trustworthy and Papists. He had filled the corporations of the towns with adherents of James. He had shown himself to be, as ever, tyrannical and unscrupulous. It was universally believed by the Protestants that a general massacre, a second St. Bartholomew, was intended. Even a day, December 9, was, they thought, fixed for the expected outbreak. The garrison of Londonderry had been temporarily withdrawn. On December 8, Lord Antrim arrived in command of 12,000 soldiers, to form the new garrison. Without any warning, the Protestant apprentices ('the prentice boys of Derry,') shut the gates of the city in his face. The inhabitants, in spite of the entreaties of the bishop and of the town council, refused to allow them to be opened. Antrim was compelled to withdraw. Thus one rallying-point was gained for the opponents of James. Another was found in Enniskillen, sixty miles south of Londonderry. Into these two

Tyrconnel's measures.

Apprehensions of Protestants.

towns poured all the Protestants from the surrounding districts.

With these two exceptions, the boast of Tyrconnel that Ireland was true, was well founded. In order, however, still further to increase his forces, he called on the native Irish to join his standards. As many as 50,000 are said to have obeyed his summons and to have submitted to drill; and 50,000 more to have roamed about the country, soldiers in name but robbers in reality.

Native Irish called to arms.

SECTION V.—*Devastation of the Palatinate.*

We have seen how Lewis withdrew his troops from Flanders in order to increase his forces on the north-eastern frontier of France. Two corps d'armée were formed. The one nominally under the command of the Dauphin, eldest son of Lewis, with whom served Marshal Duras and the great Vauban, the other under the Marquis of Boufflers.

Lewis forms two corps d'armée.

The first of these armies, early in October 1688, undertook the siege of Philipsburg, which place surrendered after a month. It then marched to Mannheim, at the confluence of the Neckar and Rhine. Mannheim immediately submitted, and the French thus became masters of the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine. The second corps d'armée, under Boufflers, took possession of Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Kreutznach, and the whole of the possessions of the Elector Palatine on the left bank of the Rhine. Then it ascended the Moselle and captured Trier (Trèves).

Their success.

When Lewis heard that William had made good his descent on England, he declared war against the United Provinces, November 28, 1688. The Dutch therefore were now actively engaged against him. Germany was arming in hot haste. The Diet

Lewis's forces inadequate.

had assembled at Regensburg (Ratisbon). The forces which France had at its disposal were not numerous enough to hold all the conquests they had so rapidly made.

Louvois accordingly advised Lewis to destroy the captured towns rather than allow them to be re-occupied by the enemy. Lewis was troubled by no scruples when he fancied that his interests, or ambitious schemes, were endangered. He took a step which added another stain to his name, and which caused France and Frenchmen to be hated by Germans. The French generals were ordered to burn every town and village of the Palatinate, and to devastate the country with fire and sword. Heidelberg Castle, the magnificent seat of the Elector Palatine, was committed to the flames; Mannheim, Speyer, Worms, Oppenheim, Bingen, in rapid succession, shared its fate. Cathedrals, churches, public buildings, monuments of art, the work of successive rulers, from imperial Rome downwards, were not spared. More than forty towns and large villages became blackened ruins Crops, vineyards, orchards, were alike destroyed, and a rich and populous district was turned into a desert. One hundred thousand families wandered homeless in search of refuge from their implacable foes.

Palatinate ravaged.

The Diet, in declaring war, January 24, 1689, summoned all Germany to vengeance. The Emperor denounced Lewis as the enemy of all Christendom, and called on Europe to join in a crusade against him, as against a Turk and an infidel. Frenchmen were put under the ban of the Empire; all commerce with France was interdicted; all French subjects, even those in domestic service, were expelled from Germany.

Resolutions of the Diet.

Lewis's conduct is indefensible. Voltaire, the great French philosopher who lived in the next century, in his 'Age of Lewis XIV.,' excuses him by suggesting that

he would not have given such barbarous orders if he could have seen with his own eyes the misery he caused. Other French writers claim that the law of war permits any action which can injure the enemy. But if this principle were admitted, assassins might be employed to take the life of the opposing general. No civilised nation can make war in such fashion. A fortified town which is captured may be dismantled, not burnt;—a defenceless village must be spared.

No excuse for Lewis.

It was at this juncture that James arrived at St. Germains. Lewis received him with studied expressions of hospitality. He begged him, so long as he would honour him with his company, to receive a yearly allowance of 45,000*l.*; he sent him 10,000*l.* for his immediate use. He ordered his courtiers to treat him and his queen with every mark of respect due to crowned heads. But James himself inspired those brought into contact with him with no respect. The French nobles commiserated the queen, but they remarked of James that it was no wonder he was at St. Germains and his son-in-law at St. James's.

James arrives at St Germains.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

SECTION I.—*The Ministry.*

WILLIAM and Mary were not as yet secure on the throne. Scotland and Ireland were in arms, and a large party in England was by no means satisfied with its Dutch sovereign. William, although a wise and prudent man, did not make many friends. His manners were cold; he was ungenial and leaned too much on his

Difficulties of William's position increased by his personal unpopularity

Dutch comrades, Schomberg, Bentinck, and Zulestein. He had this excuse, that they were tried friends whom he knew he could trust: and he felt no such certainty about English statesmen. He suffered also from asthma, a wearying complaint, which made him often petulant. He was, in fact, unpopular. On the other hand, fortunately, Mary was by nature formed to attract affection and loyalty. She was handsome, and her manners were winning. Her greatest pleasure was in relieving distress, and her private character was irreproachable. No scandalous tale was ever told of her.

Mary is popular.

William chose the leading men of each party to form his first ministry or cabinet. But he reserved one important post, that of foreign minister, for himself. Throughout his reign he allowed no minister to regulate the foreign policy of England. Parliament often interfered, much to William's disgust, but no 'secretary for foreign affairs,' with narrow or insular policy, was permitted by William to endanger the grand object of his life, the lessening the power of France, so that it should no longer be dangerous to the liberties and progress of any European nation, or to the Protestant faith.

William his own foreign minister.

William gave the presidency of the council to Danby, created Marquis of Carmarthen. Danby represented the Tories of the earlier part of Charles II.'s reign, but had nevertheless shown that such principles were not incompatible with patriotism. Halifax, the treasurer, was made privy seal. Lord Shrewsbury, the young rising Whig, one of the 'seven patriots,' was made one secretary of state; the other secretaryship was given to Lord Nottingham, a Tory, by whose appointment William hoped to gratify the Tory country gentlemen and the High Church clergy. Admiral Herbert had charge of the navy. The Great Seal was not filled, but put in

William's first ministers.

commission. New judges were appointed, and Somers was created solicitor-general. All the subordinate posts were carefully divided by William between the Whigs and Tories. To William's faithful Dutch followers were given the most important posts in the household. Such an arrangement was natural, but nevertheless caused great jealousy amongst English courtiers.

SECTION II.—*Proceedings in Parliament. The Nonjurors.*

On February 18 the Convention sat as a Parliament. The first bill passed by both Houses was one which enacted that the Convention of January 22 represented the two Houses of Parliament, and that its proceedings were as valid as if the Houses had been summoned in the usual manner. The bill was accompanied by a clause declaring that no member should sit or vote in either House, after the ensuing first of March, who had not taken the prescribed oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary. All office-holders, whether lay or spiritual, were ordered to take the oath before August 1. If they declined to do so, they were, if laymen, to lose their office; if clergymen, they were to be suspended for six months, and if they, at the end of that time, still refused to take the oath, they were to be deprived of their benefices.

Convention declared a Parliament.

Oaths of allegiance to be taken.

On March 1 a call of both Houses was made for the purpose of administering the oath to the members. The archbishop of Canterbury and seven bishops absented themselves from the House of Lords. Their example was followed by many of the inferior clergy, when the day (August 1) came on which they were to be sworn. Six bishops and about 400 clergy were eventually (1691) deprived of their livings in accord-

The Nonjurors.

ance with the act of parliament. The nonjurors, as they were called, became henceforth a disturbing element in the settlement of the kingdom. Their conscientious scruples, and the sacrifices they made in following them, deserve a certain amount of our consideration; but their tenets were dangerous to the liberties of the country. They believed James Stuart to be their lawful sovereign, and strove for his restoration. They held doctrines which involved extravagant views of sacerdotal power, and which would, if carried out, have undone the work of more than a century of Church reform.

James II. had, by favouring Papists, done much to unite Churchmen and Nonconformists. A school of theologians had also for the last forty years flourished at Cambridge (belonging for the most part to Emmanuel College), who taught that a national church should be a comprehensive one, and that the church itself existed not in 'coincidence of doctrine, but in communion of spirit.' Their writings had from the first attracted attention, and latterly had gained some few converts. Various schemes of comprehension were advocated by politicians and theologians. William was himself interested. He had nothing of the religious bigot in his composition. He had no desire to persecute a man for his religious opinions, nor to confine within narrow limits the creed of the nation. He therefore heartily concurred in two bills, the Comprehension Bill and the Toleration Bill, being laid before the Houses of Parliament.

Comprehension and Toleration Bills.

But the country was not as yet prepared to enlarge the basis of the English Church. 'Freedom of religious thought and opinion, although it has always maintained a struggling existence in the English Church, had not as yet become popular After various vicissitudes in Parliament, the Comprehen-

Comprehension Bill fails.

sion Bill was eventually referred to Convocation, the parliament of the clergy, and there it expired.

A better fate awaited the Toleration Bill, for it was passed without much difficulty. The bill, inasmuch as it only exempted those who had taken the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy from any penalties incurred for non-attendance at church, may appear to us to accord a very small amount of religious liberty. It was nevertheless a great step towards freedom of religious opinion. Toleration Bill passes.

The Commons had to provide money for the exigencies of the Government. It was hoped by William that the sums voted to James for life would be continued to himself and Mary. But the Lower House at once showed that it had no such intention. It did not interfere with the crown lands, the hereditary revenue of the sovereign. It voted a sum of money for immediate necessities, and repaid the Dutch their expenses of 600,000*l.* But it ordered the Exchequer to furnish annual estimates of expenditure and income, it determined that supplies should be annually voted in accordance with these estimates; that each particular estimate should have a certain sum appropriated to it; and that no sum should be expended on any other purpose than that for which it had been voted. This principle of the appropriation of supplies had been generally the practice of the parliaments of Charles II., although not of that of James II., but it was now formally declared to be necessary, and annually in every session from that time until the present the supplies have been appropriated. The principle is one of the great safeguards against the encroachments of the crown, or of an administration which cannot command a parliamentary majority. Appropriation of supplies.

Early in the Session, a Mutiny Bill was passed. The necessity for it arose thus. A Scotch regiment (now the

1st Royals) had been ordered to embark for Holland, and Schomberg, William's trusted Dutch general, was nominated to be its colonel. This nomination William had intended as a compliment to the regiment. But the officers were indignant, and, moreover, claimed that their regiment was under the control of the Scotch, and not the English, government. On the march to the east coast the regiment mutinied and broke off for Scotland. Overtaken by superior forces in Lincolnshire, and surrounded, it surrendered. But there was no law by which the mutineers could be punished. The existence of a standing army without the consent of Parliament, as reasserted in the Declaration of Rights, was illegal. Consequently, unless this consent were given, no soldier could be punished, nor could a court martial be held. For the necessary control of the army, Parliament, therefore, passed a Mutiny Bill; the passing of such a bill showing its consent to the maintenance of a standing army. The bill conferred on officers of the army the power of enforcing discipline, and of billeting the soldiers in private houses. But this power was granted for one year only, and each year Parliament renews this power.

Mutiny Bill.

Parliament, therefore, annually grants money for the payment of an army, and annually passes a bill for the discipline of that army, so that a sovereign cannot pay an army, nor raise an army, without consent of Parliament. The very existence of an army, therefore, depends on the existence of Parliament, so that the sovereign must take care, if he wishes to retain an army, that Parliament holds a session each year, and that after the dissolution of a Parliament, a year should not elapse before a new Parliament meets. In the Mutiny Bill, therefore is found another great constitutional safeguard.

The most important Act passed by this Parliament was the Bill of Rights. It confirmed the various clauses

of the Declaration of Rights, and embodied them in the bill. It also settled the succession of the crown, first on William and Mary, jointly, then on the survivor of either, then on the heirs of Mary; in default of any heirs of Mary, it was settled on the Princess Anne, and her heirs; and in default of these on the heirs of William by any subsequent marriage. The bill also provided that no papist should ever hold the crown. By the Bill of Rights the doctrine of Divine Right received its death-blow. From the passing of this bill, the sovereign of England reigns solely by virtue of an act of parliament.

Bill of Rights passed.

Carmarthen (Danby) the Tory lord president, had introduced a bill of general indemnity. William was anxious it should be carried. Parliament had reversed the attainders and sentences passed on the Whig sufferers in the last two reigns, and William trusted that no new prosecutions would be instituted against those who had opposed the revolution which had placed him and Mary on the throne. The Whigs were not so forgiving. They had now the upper hand, and were not inclined to mercy. So the Bill of Indemnity was dropped.

Bill of Indemnity fails.

It must be remarked that the great constitutional rights established in the first Parliament of William and Mary were not forced from an unwilling monarch, as had been the case with all concessions to the liberty of the subject made by the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns.

The Parliament was finally dissolved in January 1690, its last days being marked by a struggle which had a great effect on the elections for the next Parliament. The Whigs, becoming daily more uncompromising and more vindictive, introduced a bill to exclude from any municipal office for a period of seven years, any functionary who had been a party to the remodelling of a corporation, or to the surrendering

Vindictiveness displayed by the Whigs.

the franchises of a borough. The rights of nearly every corporate town had under Tory municipalities been thus tampered with. If the bill, as proposed by the Whigs, had passed, all the leading Tories in the English boroughs would have been debarred from office. After stormy debates the bill was rejected, but the vindictiveness displayed by the Whigs caused not merely a strong reaction against them, but even alienated the more moderate of their own party.

SECTION III.—*Scotland in* 1689.

The Earl of Argyle and two other commissioners proceeded in April from Scotland to London to tender the coronation oath to William and Mary. The last clause of the oath was 'that they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God. William objected. He said 'he would not lay himself under any obligation to be a persecutor.' The commissioners assured him that neither the words of the oath nor the laws of Scotland required this. On this assurance William and Mary took the oaths. But the 'rabbling' of the episcopal clergy, and the continual occurrence of acts of mob violence committed under the guise of religion, showed William that his opinions about toleration were neither understood nor shared in by his Scotch subjects. Nor was less animosity exhibited by the conflicting political parties. Whig and Tory, puritan and episcopalian alike, gave vent to the most bitter feelings of hatred. Dundee, who, to avoid arrest, had fled from Edinburgh into the Highlands, there raised the standard of James. The Highlanders knew but little of passing events. Uncivilised, cut off from communication with the more fortunate Lowlands by want of roads, forced to live by stealing, agri-

Intolerance of religious and political parties.

The Highlanders gather round the standard of James

culture being almost unknown amongst them, they had come to elevate robbery into an accomplishment and a virtue. The only law which bound them was obedience to their chief. By their Lowland neighbours they were regarded with disgust not unmixed with fear. Their chieftains quarrelled and fought amongst themselves either for their possessions or for supremacy. At one time the Macdonalds had been the strongest clan; but they had been deprived of their leadership by the Campbells, the chieftain of whom was Argyle. The fall of Argyle had been hailed with delight by those clans who opposed the Campbells. The advent of William of Orange therefore meant for them the return of Argyle and the restoration of the power of the Campbells. Without therefore caring for James, without either knowing, or troubling themselves to look into, the political or religious aspects of the Revolution, the Macdonalds, the Macnaghtens, the Macleans, the Camerons, eagerly joined Dundee, in order to fight against their ancient antagonists the Campbells. The river Garry, before its junction with the Tay, flows through a succession of valleys, from the last of which it emerges through the pass of Killiecrankie. Inside this pass, commanding the vale, stood Blair Castle, the seat of the Marquis of Athol. This important and commanding position had been seized by Dundee's followers.

And assemble at Blair.

General Mackay commanded William's army in Scotland. His troops consisted of the three Scotch regiments, which had been serving in Holland, one English regiment 'now the 13th Foot', two regiments of Scotch Militia, and a small body of cavalry, in all about 3,000 men.

Relative strength of Dundee and Mackay.

Dundee occupied Blair with 3,000 Highlanders, and 300 Irish from Ulster.

Mackay was desirous at once quashing the insur-

rection before all the Highlands rose in arms. He was fully aware of the want of cohesion in irregular troops, and knew that a blow speedily struck might at once disperse them. Putting his soldiers, therefore, at once in motion, he pressed on to meet Dundee. It was at the close of a long and weary march, that, on July 27, Mackay neared the pass of Killiecrankie. Instead of halting his men, and ordering the fresher troops to the front, he pushed them on through the narrow defile, hoping to gain the broader valley at its other extremity before the Highlanders were aware of his approach. The greater part had got through the pass, and wearied and footsore had thrown themselves on the ground, when musket shots were heard. Mackay hastily formed his troops, and prepared as quickly as he could for battle. Dundee, however, gave him but little time for preparation. Putting himself at the head of his wild followers, he gave the order to charge. The Highlanders, throwing down their muskets and their plaids, and with their broadswords in their hands, with a loud shout sprang at the Southerners. Mackay's troops, tired, and with their cumbrous weapons of defence not yet made ready (for the muskets and bayonets of those days were not quickly loaded or fixed), began to waver. A few moments of struggle ensued, and then all was over. In a headlong flight they rushed down the pass, sweeping away with them their own cavalry and rearguard. For four-and-twenty hours the Highlanders pursued, and the disheartened fugitives found no rest until they had reached Castle Drummond.

Fight of Killiecrankie.

In the hour of victory a chance shot struck down Dundee. His death caused the usual bickerings among the chieftains, and their dissensions were speedily followed by the dispersion of their followers. The news of the death of

Death of Dundee and dispersion of the Highlanders.

Dundee was received with delight in London, for it more than compensated for Mackay's defeat, and by the Scotch Cameronians it was regarded as a sure sign of the Divine approval of the cause of William, that their cruel persecutor had been slain.

William's Scotch ministers placed little confidence in Mackay; but William judged otherwise, and, disregarding his first want of success, continued him in his command. The insurgents still keeping the field were rapidly scattered. In the following spring Mackay built a strong fort in Invernessshire, called Fort William, to serve as a depôt of provisions and a *point d'appui* for the regular troops, and he set about making roads along which military convoys could be moved.

Further precautions of Mackay.

In order to ensure prompt action in Scotch matters, William nominated Sir John Dalrymple of Stair, a man of great talent and industry, to be lord advocate, and attached to his own court Lord Melville, to advise him on Scotch matters. By these two men, who had William's entire confidence, Scotland was governed for some years.

Dalrymple and Melville

Section IV.—*Ireland in* 1689.

Although the rapid success of the Revolution in England and Scotland surprised and disappointed Lewis XIV., he received some consolation in hearing of the resolute measures adopted by Tyrconnel to uphold the cause of James in Ireland. The life at St. Germains was a happy change for James. Treated with every mark of refined courtesy and respect, he was in no hurry to quit his palace for Ireland. But Tyrconnel sent him pressing messages. He reported that thousands were ready to fight for him, that they needed only his presence and a supply of arms to drive every Protestant and every

adherent of the Prince of Orange into the sea. Lewis recommended, and even pressed him to go. He told James that he would not furnish him with soldiers, as he had a sufficient number in Ireland, but that in every other respect he would do his utmost for him. He accordingly supplied James with the most costly outfit for his personal use; he ordered the Count of Avaux, a distinguished noble of his court, to accompany him as ambassador to Ireland; he gave him arms and ammunition for 10,000 men; he provided him with 100,000*l.* in money to pay his troops; he commanded the Brest fleet to convey him and his suite to Kinsale. Lewis, moreover, ordered the Marshal von Rosen, with a large number of skilled officers under him, to join the fleet, and to place himself and staff at James's disposal, in order that the rough native Irish might under their training be reduced to discipline. Von Rosen, a Livonian soldier of fortune, of coarse brutal manners, but of long and varied service in war, was a man well fitted for his post.

James leaves France for Ireland.

On March 12 James landed at Kinsale. Thence he marched to Cork, being received in all the towns with every mark of respect. At Cork he was joined by Tyrconnel, who brought him cheering news of the progress of his cause, and reported that, except in the North, William had no adherents under arms, and that Londonderry and Enniskillen were the only strong places that had declared for him. Tyrconnel told his master that these towns could not long hold out against the troops which, under General Hamilton, he had sent against them. On the 24th James entered Dublin amidst enthusiastic shouts of welcome. The streets through which he passed were spread with flowers and leaves of trees, and carpets and tapestry were hung from all the windows.

James enters Dublin.

Contrary to the advice of Von Rosen and Tyrconnel,

James determined to join his army in the North. He thought that his presence would animate his troops, and would increase his popularity with the Irish. He believed that Londonderry would not stand a siege, and that it would make a strong impression on the conquered if he were there, as a victorious general, to share in the triumph of his arms.

James sets off to join the army.

The position of the Protestants in Londonderry was becoming day by day more precarious. The town, enclosed by its crumbling walls, had already twice as many inmates as it had accommodation for. Its walls had no moat round them, and being built on gently rising ground, it was exposed to the fire of a besieging force. The river Foyle ran past the town, and about two miles lower down were two forts, one on each bank, Grange Fort and Charles Fort, commanding the approach by water.

Londonderry.

On April 14, two vessels with troops arrived from England. Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, ordered the officer in command not to disembark his men, for it was useless to attempt to hold the town, and the troops would only swell he number of prisoners. He had determined to play the traitor, and his council of war was accordingly a packed one. But the citizens of Derry got intelligence of what was going on, and looking from the walls saw the English ships slowly floating down the river. Inspirited by the harangues of a clergyman, George Walker, one of those who had taken refuge in the town, they determined to defend to the last their Protestant city They vowed vengeance against the traitor Lundy, and had he not, aided by Walker, escaped, would have executed speedy justice on him.

Lundy, the governor, escapes from the town.

It was at this juncture that James appeared before the

city at the head of his army. He summoned the inhabitants to open their gates. His summons was met by a fire from the walls, amid cries of 'No surrender!' Walker, a divine of the true puritan type, assisted by Major Baker, took direction of the defence. All the able-bodied inhabitants, 7,000 in number, were enrolled in the garrison. Although, by the permission of James, ten thousand of the Protestant refugees were allowed to leave Londonderry and return to their homes, 20,000 non-combatants were still left to embarrass the defenders. The city had provisions for about twelve days, and its cannon numbered but twenty. The forces of the besiegers were between twenty-five and thirty thousand. On April 20 the siege began, and on the 29th, James, finding the siege likely to be more tedious than he expected, returned to Dublin, leaving the French general, Maumont, to conduct the operations. Soon after assuming the command, Maumont was killed in one of the numerous sorties of the garrison, and was succeeded by General Hamilton, who turned the siege into a blockade.

Londonderry besieged.

Lewis ordered constant supplies of arms and other military stores to be forwarded to Ireland. Admiral Herbert, in command of the English fleet, heard that some of these, protected by a French fleet, were being landed in Bantry Bay. He sailed thither, and attacked the French whilst they were at anchor. His force was inferior and he was compelled to retire. He 'came off with greate slaughter and little honour.' Both courts claimed the victory. At Dublin the Te Deum was sung, at Westminster the Commons passed a vote of thanks to Herbert.

Battle of Bantry Bay.

The Irish Parliament, convoked by James, met at Dublin May 7. It repealed the Act of Settlement; consequently English or Anglo-Irish landlords would be

replaced by Celtic ones. It passed an act vesting in King James the property of absentees. By another act the tithes were conveyed from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy. The legislative independence of Ireland was asserted in another act. But in the Act of Attainder the Parliament showed most conspicuously its want of wisdom. The act mentioned by name some 2,500 persons, and ordered them to surrender themselves before a certain day, and if they failed to do so, sentenced them, untried, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their property to be confiscated. The list included the names of half the Irish peerage, of the wealthiest merchants and farmers, of the Protestant clergy, and most of the English settlers. The act was virtually a declaration of war to the knife against the English and the Protestants of the North of Ireland.

An Irish Parliament meets.

Act of Attainder passed.

Before the prorogation of the Dublin Parliament, the persecution of the Protestants began. The Protestant fellows of Trinity College were ejected from their fellowships. Protestant clergy were forcibly driven from their livings. The arms of all Protestants were seized. Avaux, the French ambassador, proposed a general massacre of Protestants, prompted, it is thought, by his sovereign, Lewis; but to this James would not consent.

Persecution of Protestants.

The Irish exchequer, although liberally aided by Lewis, was empty. To replenish it James resorted to the device of debasing the coinage, and tradesmen refusing to accept the spurious coin were threatened with a visit from the provost-marshal.

Coinage debased.

Meanwhile the blockade of Derry dragged on its tedious length. The defenders were reduced to great extremities from the scarcity of provisions. The besiegers had captured Forts Charles and Grange, and between these

two forts had stretched a strong boom of fir-trees, at the narrowest part of the Foyle, so as to prevent ships ascending to the relief of the town. An English fleet arrived in Lough Foyle, on June 15, having on board Colonel Kirke, troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions. But no attempt was made to force the boom, and Kirke lay, for weeks, inactive in the Lough, whilst the defenders of Derry were starving. Von Rosen now succeeded Hamilton in the conduct of the siege. In order to increase the difficulties of the besieged, he collected the Protestants from the surrounding district, drove them under the walls, and left them there to starve, for the garrison dared not add to their distress by admitting more mouths into the town. Walker, in retaliation, threatened to hang all the prisoners taken. For three days, the crowd, almost mad with hunger and disease, wandered round the city; at the end of that time Von Rosen allowed the survivors to withdraw.

Londonderry still blockaded.

But still the defenders held out, and still Kirke remained at anchor in Lough Foyle. Although each man's allowance of provisions was reduced to the lowest point at which life could be sustained, yet on July 30 supply for two days only remained. Not more than three thousand of the garrison were able to stand to their arms, for famine had brought its companion, fever; but no one breathed the word surrender.

In England the news of the heroic defence had raised the strongest feelings of pity. London was bound by the closest ties to the Protestant city of the North. The name Londonderry implies this. Many of the great city companies held, and still hold, large property there. The 'prodigious sloth of our fleet' excited indignation, and peremptory orders were sent to Kirke to relieve the city.

English sympathy.

Amongst the merchantmen attached to Kirke's fleet

CAMPAIGN IN NORTH-EAST OF IRELAND.

was the Mountjoy, commanded by one Browning, a native of Derry. Browning volunteered to make an attempt to break the boom, and persuaded another merchant captain to risk his ship also. Kirke ordered a frigate to accompany them, and to silence the fire of the forts and cover the merchantmen. The two ships, side by side, with all sails set, favoured by a strong wind, were steered straight at the boom. The mass of timber first swayed, then cracked, then gave way, and the two ships were carried through on the rising tide, and Londonderry was saved. The gallant Browning was killed by a shot from Fort Charles as his ship was breaking the boom. On July 30 each fighting man of Derry had received half a pound of tallow and three quarters of a pound of salted hide; on the 31st, the rations served out to each one of the garrison were two pounds of beef and three pounds of flour.

Londonderry relieved,

and the blockade raised.

On August 1 Von Rosen raised the siege, which had now lasted 105 days, and with his troops retreated towards Strabane.

Enniskillen was more fortunate than Londonderry; it was situated on an island, in the river joining the upper and lower parts of Lough Erne, and therefore could not be invested. Nevertheless the inhabitants were in great peril, for 5,000 Irish were marching against them. On July 29 they received from Kirke timely aid, consisting of arms and ammunition, and a few experienced officers, at whose head was Colonel Wolseley. Wolseley at once determined, with all the forces he could muster, 3,000 only, to strike the first blow, and attack the Irish. He met them at the village of Newtown Butler, and gained a decisive victory over them, the gentlemen and yeomen composing his forces behaving with the greatest gallantry. On the same day

Battle of Newtown Butler.

on which Browning broke through the boom that blocked the passage of the Foyle, the Irish army that was to destroy the Protestants of Enniskillen was in rapid flight, leaving 1,500 killed on the field, and in the hands of the victors 400 prisoners, and all their cannon and ammunition. Making the best of their way to the North, the fugitives, on July 31, met, near Strabane, the army of Hamilton retreating from Londonderry. The news of the defeat at Newtown Butler spread dismay through Hamilton's force, already dispirited. Thinking that they were about to be attacked on both front and rear, their retreat soon changed into a flight. Each town, as they passed through it, was evacuated by its garrison, and was soon after occupied by Kirke's troops, so that in a few days the North of Ireland was again freed from James's soldiers.

SECTION V.—*The Grand Alliance, and Campaign on the Continent in* 1689.

The interference of Lewis in Ireland on behalf of James caused William to mature his plans for a great Continental confederacy against France. On May 12, 1689, William, as Stadtholder of the United Provinces, had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Emperor against Lewis. On May 17, as King of England, he declared war against France; and on December 30 joined the alliance between the Emperor and the Dutch. His example was followed on June 6, 1690, by the King of Spain, and on October 20 of the same year, by Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. This confederation was called the '*Grand Alliance.*' Its main object was declared to be, to curb the power and ambition of Lewis XIV.; to force him to surrender his conquests, and to confine his territories to the limits agreed upon between him and the Emperor at the treaty of Westphalia (1648), and between

France and Spain at the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). The league of Augsburg, which William had with so much trouble brought about, had now successfully developed into the *Grand Alliance*.

The campaign of 1689 between Lewis and the Emperor was marked by little of importance.

Campaign of 1689 in Germany.

The Emperor, although engaged on his eastern frontier with the Turks, managed nevertheless to bring an army of 80,000 into the field. Lewis placed one army in position on the Rhine, another in the Netherlands, and a third on the Spanish frontier. The general result was somewhat favourable to the allies, for the Emperor's troops recaptured Mainz and Bonn, and the French in the Netherlands suffered defeat. But Lewis and Louvois had formed a plan which they hoped would break up the alliance. This was to obtain command of the Channel, and thus to secure the maritime supremacy of Europe.

Naval preparations of Lewis.

All through, therefore, the winter of 1689, and the early part of 1690, the dockyards of France were busied in building and equipping ships, and every French man-of-war in the Mediterranean was brought round to Brest.

CHAPTER XV.

WILLIAM III. AND IRELAND.

SECTION I.—*The English Parliament in* 1690.

ON the dissolution of Parliament in January 1690, the writs for a new Parliament, the second of William and Mary, were at once issued. The Tories were placed by the elections in a decided majority. But this result did not prove that the principles of the Revolution were unacceptable to the

The new Parliament.

nation. It showed that the attempt made in the late Parliament by the Whigs to exclude from office the Tories who had, in their several boroughs, assisted James in remodelling the corporations, was regarded by moderate men with disfavour, as being illiberal and revengeful. 'The attempted exclusion provoked also,' says Burnet, 'all those whom it was to have disgraced.'

Tory majority.

The first duty of the new Parliament, which met in March, was to consider the revenue. The late Parliament had granted to the Crown money for immediate necessities. It was requisite that the present Parliament should come to some definite settlement. The hereditary revenue of the Crown, which had passed into the possession of William and Mary, produced annually from 400,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* In the reigns of Charles and James, the excise and customs duties had in addition been voted for life to the sovereign. These duties were supposed to produce annually about 900,000*l.* William hoped, and believed, that these would be settled on him and his queen, as had been done before. But the Parliament considered that its too great generosity in former days had made the Crown more independent of Parliament than was conducive to the public liberty. William was much hurt. He said that he 'who had preserved the religion and laws of England was less trusted by Englishmen than they who tried their best to destroy them.' His remonstrances were, however, not entirely without avail. The excise duties, estimated to produce about 300,000*l.* a year, were settled on William and Mary for their lives, and these, added to the hereditary revenue, formed the 'Civil List.' The customs duties, yielding about 600,000*l.* a year, were granted to the Crown for four years only. The Civil List provided for the support of the royal household, the personal expenses of the king and queen, and the payment of civil offices and pensions.

The Civil List.

The Parliament again acknowledged William and Mary as joint king and queen, affirmed the legality of the measures of the late Parliament, and provided that William, whilst in England, should have the sole administration of the government, but that when he was absent Mary should rule.

The Whigs introduced into both Houses in succession a Bill of Abjuration, the object of which was to deprive of office of every kind all persons who did not solemnly abjure James as king. The first bill, drawn up with extreme severity, was rejected by the Commons. The second bill, which was less stringent, was introduced into the Lords, and was warmly supported by Shrewsbury, William's Whig minister, whilst Danby, the Tory minister, who had been raised to the marquisate of Carmarthen, was as strenuous in opposing it. The Marquis of Carmarthen succeeded in getting it thrown out.

Bill of Abjuration thrown out by both Houses.

On the rejection of these bills, William himself drew up an Act of Grace, which was a full pardon and indemnity for all political offenders. It was presented to both Houses, and was passed by both Houses without one dissentient voice. By this act William trusted to set at rest political animosities, and to be able to prorogue Parliament, so that he might be set free to proceed at once to Ireland, in order to drive James and the French out of the island. But Shrewsbury was incensed with William for thus, as he thought, truckling to the Tories. He was a man of morbid sensitiveness; his pride was wounded, and he resolved to resign. The king was disinclined thus to part with one of the 'seven patriots,' and personally solicited him to continue in office. Shrewsbury vacillated, but at length came to his final determination and resigned. When he first thought himself no longer trusted by William,

Act of Grace passed.

Shrewsbury turns traitor.

he at once made overtures to James; these overtures were accepted, and the resignation of his seal of office marked his adhesion to the Jacobite cause.

Halifax, the treasurer, had also resigned office, so Carmarthen (Danby) and Nottingham, who were both Tories, were William's sole remaining ministers. Thus the attempt of William to conciliate all parties by a coalition ministry proved unsuccessful. But he still determined to show that he did not consider himself the king of a party. Having prorogued Parliament on May 20, and made preparations for his Irish campaign, William, before his departure, chose a council of nine privy councillors to assist Mary. Of these four were Whigs, the remaining five, among whom were Carmarthen, Nottingham, and Churchill (now Earl of Marlborough) were Tories.

Halifax resigns.

SECTION II.—*The Victory of the Boyne.*

Marshal Schomberg landed at Belfast in the autumn of 1689, soon after the victory of Newtown Butler, with an army of 10,000 men. Thence he marched to Carrickfergus, and being joined by the Protestants of Enniskillen, directed his movements towards Dublin, in hopes of striking a decisive blow before the winter set in. James's forces were collected at Drogheda, to the number of 20,000. On reaching Dundalk, Schomberg found that his men, for the most part raw English peasants, hastily recruited, not only stood in need of additional drilling, but were besides fatigued by their marches, and half-starved by the shortcomings of the commissariat service. He therefore resolved to halt near Dundalk, form an entrenched camp, and devote his own time and that of his officers to teaching his

Schomberg arrives in Ireland, and forms a camp at Dundalk.

musketeers how to load and fire, and his cavalry how to ride. James, having joined his troops at Drogheda, marched to within a few miles of Schomberg's camp, as if to attack it. Von Rosen, however, recommended more prudent measures, and James withdrew his army.

Schomberg's troops, supplied with bad food and suffering from the constant rain, fell easy victims to fever, ague, and dysentery. In every regiment the sick outnumbered those who were fit for duty. Treachery, also, was suspected. Colonel Shales, formerly commissary-general to King James, was the officer at the head of the commissariat. It was said that the peculations of his subordinates, in which he shared, were carried on not merely to enrich themselves, but to ruin the army. Shales was eventually dismissed the service, in consequence of the House of Commons presenting an address against him.

Sufferings of the English.

In November James sent his troops into winter quarters. Schomberg immediately broke up his camp, sent the sick on board ship, or into hospital at Belfast, and dispersed the troops still fit for service amongst the towns and villages of Ulster.

Both armies in winter quarters.

Early in the spring of 1690 William sent reinforcements to Schomberg, not, as last year, English peasant lads, but sturdy Dutch and Danish soldiers, seasoned in many campaigns. With these arrived a body of exiled French Huguenots, and a few picked English regiments. They all assembled at Belfast, and thither followed William, leaving London on June 4, and arriving at Belfast on the 14th. Schomberg was ordered to rendezvous with his troops at Loughbrickland, a small town on the Lough of Brickland, lying a mile or two to the eastward of the high road running from Lisburn to Newry and Dundalk.

William arrives in Ireland.

James had sent urgent appeals to Lewis for reinforcements, dwelling much on the uselessness of his Irish troops. Lewis promised to exchange French soldiers for Irish ones, at the rate of two Frenchmen for every Irishman, and on the arrival at Brest of 4,000 ragged, but strong, Irish, there were sent to Dublin 8,000 good French soldiers, under the command of the Count of Lauzun. Lauzun was placed in command at the special request of James and his queen, with whom he was in high favour, but he was a drawing-room soldier, who shone more at Versailles than on the battle-field. James and Lauzun had almost reached Dundalk, when they heard of William's arrival in Ireland.

Lauzun sent by Lewis with reinforcements for James.

When William reached his army he found that it had been joined by the volunteers from Enniskillen and Londonderry, and was thus raised to 36,000 men. With the men of Derry marched Walker, the clerical defender of the city. The bishopric of Derry had just fallen vacant, and William's first act was to appoint Walker to the see. But neither episcopal ease nor episcopal zeal tempted him to leave his 'prentice boys.'

Walker made Bishop of Derry.

James's army numbered about 27,000. On hearing the strength of William he resolved to fall back until he could form his troops on ground where natural advantages should counterbalance their inferiority in numbers. He therefore withdrew towards Drogheda, and crossed the river Boyne at the ford at Old Bridge. Here he drew up his army on the south side of the river, with Drogheda, garrisoned by Irish, a few miles to his right, and to his left the bridge at Slane, guarded by a strong body of his cavalry under O'Neil.

James takes up a position.

On June 30 William came in sight of the combined Irish and French army on the other side of the

Boyne. He could not restrain his delight at coming up with them. 'Gentlemen, I am glad to see you,' he exclaimed; adding, 'It is my fault if you escape me now.' He at once rode forward to reconnoitre the position of James's army. While he was thus engaged he was observed by the enemy, and two field-pieces were brought up to open fire upon him and his staff. The first shot of each took effect, the one killing the horse of Prince George of Hesse and bringing its rider to the ground, and the other wounding William in the shoulder. The wound fortunately was a slight one, but for a moment dismay spread through his staff. After the wound was dressed, the indomitable spirit of William enabled him again to mount his charger. On that day he was for nineteen consecutive hours on horseback.

William comes up with James.

On the following morning, July 1, William gave his final orders. The right wing, under a son of Schomberg, was to cross the bridge at Slane, and, after driving away O'Neil's dragoons, to turn the left flank of James's army. William's left wing, composed entirely of cavalry, under his own immediate command, was to cross nearer Drogheda and operate on the right flank of the enemy. The centre, all infantry, led by Schomberg, was to force the passage of the Boyne.

Battle of the Boyne.

Lauzun saw at once that if their left flank was turned, retreat, if it should be necessary to retreat, was impossible. He therefore moved the French contingent, the most trustworthy part of the army, to reinforce O'Neil on the left. Schomberg's son had already crossed the bridge at Slane, and pushed back the dragoons, but by the arrival of the French he was held at bay at the pass of Duleek. The Irish alone were left to form the centre of James's army. The Dutch allies, and French refugees and Irish Protestants, under Schomberg, wading up to their armpits, forced the river, and made good their footing on the

other side. No sooner did the Irish infantry see this, than they turned and fled. The Irish cavalry, under Hamilton, came to the rescue and pressed back the allied troops. Schomberg urged his horse through the river to rally his wavering troops. 'Voilà vos persécuteurs!' he shouted to the retreating French Huguenots, who rallied and came again to the attack. At this critical moment the brave old marshal was struck dead from his horse, and Bishop Walker received his death wound. William, however, having made good his passage of the river, formed up his cavalry, and then putting himself at their head, wheeled to the right, and came down on the right flank of the Irish horse. These latter, pressed in their turn by this fresh body of troops, gave way. The allied infantry re-formed their ranks, and began again to advance. In a few minutes James's army was in full retreat. Fortunately for James the French held firm the pass of Duleek, and then formed in the rear, and covered the flying army. Had it not been for the foresight of Lauzun, the slaughter of the fugitives would have been immense. As it was, the loss of the Irish was estimated at 1,500, that of William's allied troops at 500 only.

James, when he saw the day was lost, galloped off to Dublin with all haste, and made preparation for his immediate return to France.

When William was told of Schomberg's death his grief was great, and his usually phlegmatic nature was deeply moved. But when he was told that Bishop Walker also had met with his death at the passage of the Boyne, 'What took him there?' said he. His remark to Burnet, at the landing at Torbay, was to the same purport. He thought divines should keep to their studies and their pulpits, and not interfere with soldiers or statesmen.

The slight wound received by William on the day

before the battle had been reported at Versailles as fatal. Great was the consequent rejoicing. The bells of Notre Dame at Paris, rung only on the most important occasions, now pealed forth their notes of triumph. On July 5 a letter arrived from James, dated from Brest, announcing his safe arrival there, and the defeat he had sustained. The reaction caused by this bad news, coming after the good news, increased James's unpopularity at the court of Lewis. In London, on the other hand, the intelligence of the victory at the Boyne caused the greatest enthusiasm. London, indeed, stood in need of consolation. Since William's departure for Ireland a great blow had fallen. The French had obtained the command of the Channel.

SECTION III.—*Herbert, Lord Torrington.*

The work of the French dockyards had produced great results. A magnificent fleet, well equipped, consisting of no less than seventy-eight ships of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels, and carrying in all 4,702 guns, put to sea under the command of the Count of Tourville. The combined English and Dutch fleet, under Admiral Herbert (now raised to the peerage as Lord Torrington), mustered only fifty-six ships of the line, mounting 3,462 guns. Torrington, cruising to the south-west of the Isle of Wight, sighted Tourville's fleet off the Needles, and at once made for the straits of Dover. The queen sent down from London to the coast messengers to intercept Torrington, and give him imperative orders to engage. The message reached him when his fleet was off Beachy Head. With reluctance he obeyed, and formed in order of battle. He placed the Dutch under Admiral Evertsen, a brave and skilful seaman, in the van, and gave the signal to engage. The Dutch fought bravely, but were coldly supported by the English. At length Evertsen unwillingly

Defeat off Beachy Head.

withdrew from the contest, leaving one of his ships as a prize to the French. Torrington, taking in tow those of his vessels which were damaged, made with all haste for the Thames. It was fortunate indeed for England that Tourville did not follow up his victory with energy. If he had done so, the 30th of June would have been a day long to be mournfully remembered by Englishmen. Tourville, instead of pursuing Torrington, sailed westwards, burned Teignmouth in Devonshire, and then waited in daily expectation of a rising in England in James's favour which should warrant his more active interference.

It is doubtful if any victory of the English arms would have done more to strengthen William's cause than the defeat off Beachy Head. English sailors were fondly supposed to be invincible, and it was at once asserted that their defeat was due to treachery. Public opinion declared that Torrington was a traitor. The Londoners now became alarmed for the safety of their city, and their fear increased their hatred for the French, and for the cause favoured by the French king. It was at this moment that the news reached London of William's victory at the Boyne. Mary had from the first been almost idolised by those brought into contact with her. Her popularity was now shared by her husband.

Change of feeling in favour of William.

Torrington was sent to the Tower, and in the following December tried by court-martial, for having, 'through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn dishonour on the British nation, and sacrificed our good allies the Dutch.' He and his friends declared he was being made a victim to the resentment of the Dutch, who had been destroyed by their own rashness. The idea that an Englishman was being sacrificed to Dutch interests caused a reaction in public feeling.

Torrington dismissed.

The result of the trial was a verdict of not guilty, and the populace hailed the verdict with joy, although, five months previously, Torrington's name was never uttered without an evil epithet attached to it. Notwithstanding the verdict William dismissed him from the service.

Section IV.—*William leaves Ireland.*

James's army, flying from the Boyne, reached Dublin. Lauzun agreed with Tyrconnel, whom James had nominated his lord-lieutenant, that it was impossible to make a stand for the defence of the capital, so dispirited were the soldiers. They therefore rapidly withdrew their troops and marched towards the west. On July 6 William entered Dublin, and returned thanks for his victory in St. Patrick's Cathedral. It was on this day that William heard of the French victory off Beachy Head. He at once came to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to secure Waterford, the finest harbour in the south-east of Ireland, and a more secure anchorage for his transports than the bay of Dublin.

William enters Dublin.

On July 21 William appeared before Waterford, and it immediately surrendered. He now prepared to leave Ireland for England. As he approached Dublin he heard that Tourville, after burning Teignmouth, had returned to France, and that the appearance of a French fleet in the Thames was no longer to be dreaded. He therefore rejoined his force near Cashel, who were following the still retreating army of James.

Waterford falls.

The Irish army had reached Limerick, and here some proposed to make a stand. But Lauzun and Tyrconnel both held that Limerick could not be defended, that 'its battlements might be battered down with roasted apples,' and that the army, by remain-

Limerick.

ing there, would be sure to fall an easy prey to William. But the Irish wished for an opportunity to retrieve their character, and Patrick Sarsfield stood forth as an exponent of their views.

Patrick Sarsfield.

Sarsfield had formerly held a commission in the English life-guards, had seen much service abroad, and had, with his regiment, fought against Monmouth at Sedgemoor. He represented the county of Dublin in the Irish Parliament. He was handsome, of high stature and great strength, brave, generous, talented, and everywhere popular. Descended from one of the early English colonists, his family had often intermarried with the native Irish, and Sarsfield himself had become one of those called 'Hibernis Hiberniores' (more Irish than the Irish).

Sarsfield pointed out the strong advantages of defence offered by Limerick. He expatiated on the natural strength of the city, the greater part of which stood on an island in the Shannon, with only one bridge connecting it with the mainland, the river itself being held by a French squadron. The result of the deliberations was that Lauzun and Tyrconnel, with the French, retired northwards to Galway, leaving the Irish army of 20,000 to defend Limerick.

Limerick defended by the Irish.

On August 9 William arrived before the city, and pitched his camp on the left bank of the Shannon. His heavy artillery had not yet come up. On the 10th Sarsfield, at the head of 500 cavalry, left Limerick by the right bank of the river, to reconnoitre. Intelligence was brought him of the whereabouts of William's artillery train. Crossing the Shannon at Killaloe, he came down on it as it was parked for the night, put to flight the escort, blew up the powder, buried or burst the guns and was safe back in Limerick before the morning.

William's artillery destroyed by Sarsfield

A regular siege was now out of the question, so William rapidly pushed forward the trenches in order to carry the place by assault. Rain fell without intermission. The English and Dutch soldiers, working in water up to their knees, began to suffer from dysentery. The commissariat, as usual, was deficient. From the 17th to the 27th the progress made by the besiegers was slow, and on the latter day it was determined to try the effect of an assault. Desperate fighting took place for four hours, and in the end the assailants were repulsed. Although the English had entered that part of the town which lay on the left bank of the river, they were unable to make good their footing, and were driven slowly back to their camp. On the night of the 27th rain fell heavier than ever. The English camp became a swamp. The light field-guns and the commissariat waggons began to sink into the treacherous soil. On the 29th a council of war was held, and William reluctantly gave orders to raise the siege.

William fails before Limerick.

The king started immediately for Waterford, and sailed thence for England, landing at Bristol on September 6.

Section V.—*Marlborough in Ireland.*

When Tourville was threatening the southern coast, troops under the command of Lord Marlborough had been despatched to garrison Portsmouth. All danger from the French having passed away, Marlborough proposed to Queen Mary to send the troops to the south of Ireland, to reduce Cork and Kinsale. Mary laid the plans before the council of nine. The council was divided as to the expediency of the enterprise. William, who was in Ireland, was appealed to, and approved, ordering Marlborough, who had proposed the scheme, to command the expedition. On September 22 the force, consisting of

Marlborough sails for Ireland.

5,000 men, disembarked near Cork, and was joined by some of the Dutch troops under the Duke of Würtemberg, who had been engaged in the siege of Limerick.

After a siege of forty-eight hours Cork capitulated. In a few hours afterwards the English cavalry appeared before Kinsale, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The Irish replied by setting fire to the town, and then retired to two forts, called the Old and New Forts. The English put out the fire with difficulty. Marlborough, on coming up with the rest of his forces, attacked the Old Fort with scaling ladders, and captured or killed all its garrison. The New Fort, after being besieged for six days, capitulated on terms, and its garrison was allowed to retire to Limerick.

Cork and Kinsale fall.

The climate now began to affect Marlborough's troops, and it was determined that all William's troops in Ireland should go into winter quarters. On November 1 Marlborough presented himself to William at Kensington, and was most graciously received by him.

William now held the provinces of Ulster and Leinster, and Enniskillen, Londonderry, Belfast, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Kinsale were garrisoned by his troops.

SECTION VI.—*Campaign in the Netherlands.*

Contrary to the wishes of his minister, Louvois, Lewis had given the command of the French army in the Netherlands to the Duke of Luxembourg. Luxembourg, a bitter enemy of Louvois, was a bold and original general, rapid in his movements, and sometimes even rash. The Prince of Waldeck, who carried on war according to the rules of the tacticians, commanded the Imperialists.

Luxembourg and Waldeck.

Waldeck had taken up a strong position behind the Sambre, to the eastward of Namur. Luxembourg forced

the passage of the Sambre, attacked Waldeck at Fleurus, and defeated him in a decisive battle on June 30, the same day which witnessed the English defeat off Beachy Head. Waldeck lost 5,000 killed, 8,000 prisoners, 50 pieces of artillery, and more than 100 standards. The standards were sent to Nôtre Dame, and the wits of Paris dubbed Luxembourg 'le tapissier de Nôtre Dame' (the upholsterer of Nôtre Dame).

French victorious at Fleurus.

Luxembourg wished to follow up his victory by attacking either Namur or Charleroi; but Louvois had sufficient influence with Lewis to stop him in his victorious path, and he was ordered to remain inactive.

Another French general, Catinat (the first instance in France of a man rising to that rank who was not of the order of the nobility), was also victorious in Savoy over the troops of Victor Amadeus.

CHAPTER XVI.

Pacification of Ireland and Scotland.

Section I.—*Ireland—Limerick.*

In the spring of 1691 Tyrconnel returned to Ireland as lord-lieutenant of James. He landed at Limerick, and was soon afterwards joined by St. Ruth, a French general, whose reputation in that capacity was based chiefly on his success in the 'Dragonnades.' St. Ruth was supposed to understand and appreciate the Irish character, because the Irish regiments in the French service had been under his command. He set to work to reorganise the forces placed at his disposal, but was bitterly disappointed with their progress. Added to this, he found that Sarsfield was the favourite of the soldiery,

St. Ruth.

so that both St. Ruth and Tyrconnel, jealous of Sarsfield's influence, made a point of employing as little as possible the best officer Ireland possessed.

St. Ruth takes the field for James.

On June 1, St. Ruth thought his forces drilled sufficiently to take the field.

Ginkell commands English,

Ginkell, an experienced Dutch officer, had been placed by William in command of the English and the allied Dutch troops.

St. Ruth had placed a strong garrison in Athlone, a town on the Shannon about 70 miles north of Limerick. Ginkell had concentrated his forces at Mullingar, in Westmeath, 25 miles due east of Athlone. On the 7th he captured Ballymore and its garrison. Having strengthened the fortifications, he left a garrison there, so that it might serve as a place to fall back upon in case of reverse. On June 19 he appeared before Athlone.

and marches to Athlone.

The town of Athlone was divided by the Shannon into two parts. On the right bank was the Celtic town, commanded by an old castle. On the left bank had been the English town; but this now lay in a heap of ruins, having been burnt by the Irish. The two banks of the river were connected by a bridge, and this bridge also was commanded by the castle. About 600 yards below the bridge was a deep and dangerous ford, covered by earthworks on the Irish or right bank. After a few hours' fighting, Ginkell gained possession of what remained of the English town, and on June 21 began to erect batteries. He began the bombardment on the next day, and in a short time the Irish town was in ruins, and the castle much damaged. But St. Ruth had encamped with his army outside Athlone to support the garrison, and the English could not cross the bridge, which was stoutly held by the Irish. So matters continued until the 30th, when a council of war was called together by Ginkell.

Athlone captured.

WESTERN
IRELAND.
Mullingar
Ballymore
R. Brosna
Slieve Bloom Mts
Maryborough
Lough
Ree
Athlone
R. Shannon
Lough
Derg
Aughrim
Tuam
Oranmore
Loughrea
Slieve
Bagh Mts
Shannon
R.
LIMERICK
L. Mask
GALWAY
Ennis
Kilrush

Bearing in mind the successful passage of the Boyne, the council resolved, while making a feint of forcing the bridge, to attempt to cross the Shannon by the ford, and so carry the covering earthworks with a rush. The bold idea was carried out, and was successful. With a loss of only 12 killed and 30 wounded, the English crossed the river, and took in rear the defenders of the bridge. A crowd of fugitives, rushing pell-mell into his camp, brought to St. Ruth the intelligence that the town had fallen. Dejected and disgusted, he rapidly struck his tents and retreated westward towards Galway.

Battle of Aughrim.

St. Ruth, in order to retrieve his character as a general, determined, contrary to the advice of Sarsfield, to risk a general engagement. He knew that he should incur the displeasure of Lewis, when the latter learnt that he had led a relieving army to the walls of Athlone, and had then retreated without striking a blow to aid the garrison. He knew also that his troops could not be relied on, but at the same time he did what skill could do to counteract their unsteadiness. He therefore chose a strong position at Aughrim which could be strengthened artificially. He drew up his men on the slope of a hill, at the foot of which was a marsh. He further strengthened his front by erecting breastworks, from behind which his men could fire on the enemy as they struggled through the boggy ground to the attack. On July 11 Ginkell had marched to Ballinasloe, four miles westward of Aughrim. On the 12th the English and Dutch attacked the Irish. For two hours they could make no impression; 'the action was very hot, for the Irish disputed the matter obstinately.' At length, on the extreme of the English right, a squadron of the Blues found somewhat firmer ground, and successfully crossed the morass. Laying down hurdles, they formed a road along which the whole of the English cavalry moved. As soon as they had

passed the bog, the cavalry formed, wheeled to the left, and charged the Irish on their flank. At this critical moment, St. Ruth was killed. The Irish began to give way. Sarsfield, who commanded the reserve, remained inactive, for he had been ordered by St. Ruth not to advance unless he received direct orders to do so from him. St. Ruth being dead, no orders were given, and the Irish, pressed by the English infantry (who again and again came to the attack in their front), as well as by the cavalry on their flank, finally broke and fled. In the pursuit which followed, few prisoners were taken, but many hundred fugitives were slain. The cannon and baggage of the Irish fell into the hands of the victors. Sarsfield drew off a few regiments and reached Galway. The Irish lost, out of a force of 28,600, no less than 7,000 killed and 400 prisoners. Ginkell's army of 20,000 had 600 killed and 1,000 wounded.

Galway surrenders.

Galway capitulated as soon as Ginkell appeared before it, on condition that its garrison should be allowed to withdraw to Limerick. In Limerick, then, all those bearing arms for James were assembled.

Death of Tyrconnel.

Tyrconnel himself made every preparation for the defence of the city. Before, however, the army of William appeared, a fit of apoplexy carried off the man who was most feared and hated by the Protestants of Ireland.

Fall of Limerick.

Ginkell began the bombardment of Limerick on August 12. When William was foiled, a French squadron commanded the Shannon; now, however, the river was held by an English fleet. Ginkell, taking a strong body of troops across the river in boats, dispersed the Irish cavalry encamped on the right bank, and carried a detached fort, protecting the bridge which connected the two parts of the city. It was evident to both besiegers and besieged that Limerick must soon

fall. Offers of capitulation were made, and a truce of a few days was arranged whilst the terms of the capitulation were being drawn up.

On October 1 two treaties were signed, the one military, by Ginkell, the other civil, by the lords justices. By the military treaty all Irish officers and soldiers electing to leave their country, and retire to France, were to be conveyed thither by English transports. Ten thousand availed themselves of this condition, and were formed into the Irish brigade which afterwards did such good service to the French kings. The civil treaty provided that the Irish who were Roman Catholics should enjoy all the privileges in the exercise of their religion which they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.; that they should have permission to carry arms, to exercise their professions, and should receive a full amnesty for all offences against the government of William and Mary.

Terms of capitulation.

This treaty was subsequently confirmed by the English Parliament.

With the departure of the Irish soldiers the last vestige of opposition to the House of Orange disappeared. The lords justices appointed by William ruled the country with great harshness. An Irish Parliament—which, according to the law, was composed entirely of Protestants—was summoned to meet at Dublin in 1695. It refused to accept the conditions of the treaty of Limerick, and this refusal earned for that town the name of 'The city of the violated treaty.' Penal laws of the utmost severity against Roman Catholics were carried. Ireland was led into bondage, and its chains were riveted by the Irish Protestants, who thus took vengeance for the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the Stuarts.

Ireland kept in submission

So effectual were the measures of repression taken, that in the two insurrections in favour of the Stuarts which

broke out in the 18th century, not a pike was sharpened, not a sword was drawn, not a shot was fired, in all Ireland, on behalf of the last Catholic king. For nearly one hundred years the Catholics of Ireland were kept in such subjection that they could hardly be said to exist as a political party, and were objects neither of distrust nor fear to the English Government.

for nearly a century.

Section II.—*Scotland—Glencoe.*

Lord Breadalbane, one of the clan Campbell, had, early in the year 1691, laid before Dalrymple a scheme for the pacification of the Highlands. He proposed that William should offer a free pardon and a sum of money to all the chiefs who would take the oath of allegiance, and whose clans would bring their arms to Fort William before a certain day. The sum to be divided amongst them was to be from ten to fifteen thousand pounds. Dalrymple approved of the plan, for he hoped that the pride of the chieftains would be too great to allow them to accept the offer, and that their refusal might afford a pretence for carrying fire and sword into their territories. William agreed to the proposal.

Negotiations with the Highland clans.

December 31, 1691, was fixed on as the last day on which the chieftains could accept the conditions offered. Dalrymple's hopes were not realised. He had given the officers in command instructions as to the way they were to deal with the chiefs, and hoped 'the government would not be troubled with prisoners.' But by the 31st all had laid down their arms except the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Glencoe, a Highland valley near Loch Leven and Ben Nevis, was almost surrounded by the lands of the Campbells. It was held by the Macdonalds, a small clan, but very troublesome neighbours to the Campbells. The Macdonalds were hated by the Campbells,

Glencoe.

and Glencoe was a very Naboth's vineyard to both Lords Breadalbane and Argyle.

When first negotiations were opened with the Highland chiefs, Breadalbane told Macdonald of Glencoe that he should retain any money which might be due to Macdonald on submitting, as a compensation for various injuries inflicted at various times by the Macdonalds on the Campbells. The old chieftain had consequently no inducement to offer to his men to lay down their

Macdonald of Glencoe delays giving in his submission.

arms, and was also fearful that if they were disarmed the Campbells would become troublesome. But when, at the close of 1691, Macdonald heard that every other clan had submitted, he presented himself on December 30 before the governor of Fort William to take the oaths. The governor, not being a magistrate, was unable to administer them, but he gave him a letter to the sheriff of Inverary, who administered the oaths to Macdonald on January 6.

Breadalbane informed Dalrymple that all had submitted save the Macdonalds of Glencoe. Dalrymple

William orders justice to be done on Glencoe.

then obtained from William a written order 'to extirpate that sept of thieves, for the vindication of public justice.' 'The king,' says Burnet, 'signed this without any inquiry, for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry without examining them.' This was caused by the accumulation of business papers. But William was kept in ignorance of Macdonald's having offered to take the oaths before the appointed time, and of his having actually taken them a few days afterwards. The fatal order reached the governor of Fort William, and was transmitted by him for execution to the colonel commanding Argyle's regiment of soldiers. The colonel sent 120 men of his regiment, under a Captain Campbell, who was connected by marriage with one of the Macdonalds. The Macdonalds entertained the soldiers on their arrival in the valley hospitably. They thought, as they had heard nothing to the contrary, that their submission was accepted. On the thirteenth day of their stay in Glencoe, Captain Campbell received full instructions from his colonel, and in accordance with this, the soldiers, at daybreak of February 13, fell on their unsuspecting hosts. Forty of the Macdonalds were slain at once. The rest of the clan, with women and children, made their escape to the mountains. There, cold, wearied, and starved, the greater number perished in the snows of that inclement winter.

Lewis is shocked.

When the news of the 'massacre of Glencoe' reached the French court, Lewis XIV. openly expressed his abhorrence. The author of the Dragonnades, the persecutor of the Huguenots, the master of those who devastated the Palatinate, could not find words adequate to express his abhorrence of William for this outrage on humanity.

The Scotch Parliament in 1695 entered on an inquiry into the matter. The inquiry had been ordered before,

but for one reason or another had been postponed. The result was that Parliament recommended the prosecution of the officers of Argyle's regiment, and brought to light the double-dealing of Breadalbane and Dalrymple. Breadalbane was in consequence committed to prison on a charge of high treason, and Dalrymple's resignation of his office was accepted by William. The prosecution, however, of the officers never took place. The trial of Breadalbane was delayed until the session of Parliament came to an end, and then was dropped. 'Political necessity,' it is said, 'bears down justice and honour.' But William's character is stained by the careless signing of an inhuman order, and by the protection granted to the instigators and perpetrators of the Glencoe massacre.

Breadalbane escapes punishment.

The Highlands being now pacified, the work of finally establishing William and Mary on the Scotch throne went on rapidly. The Presbyterian Church was restored as the Church of Scotland. A Toleration Act was proposed by William, but to this the Scotch Parliament remained unalterably opposed. William was obliged to yield, but during his reign no persecution for religion took place.

Scotland tranquil.

For the remaining years of the seventeenth century Scotland caused no disquiet to the reigning sovereign, nor did the Jacobites succeed in gaining in that kingdom many fresh adherents to their cause.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR DURING 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694.

SECTION I.—*Congress at the Hague.*

IN January 1691 a congress assembled at the Hague. William arrived there at the end of that month, and found already assembled the greater number of the German electors and sovereign princes, and plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, from the Kings of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, and from the Duke of Savoy. He presided at the formal opening of the congress.

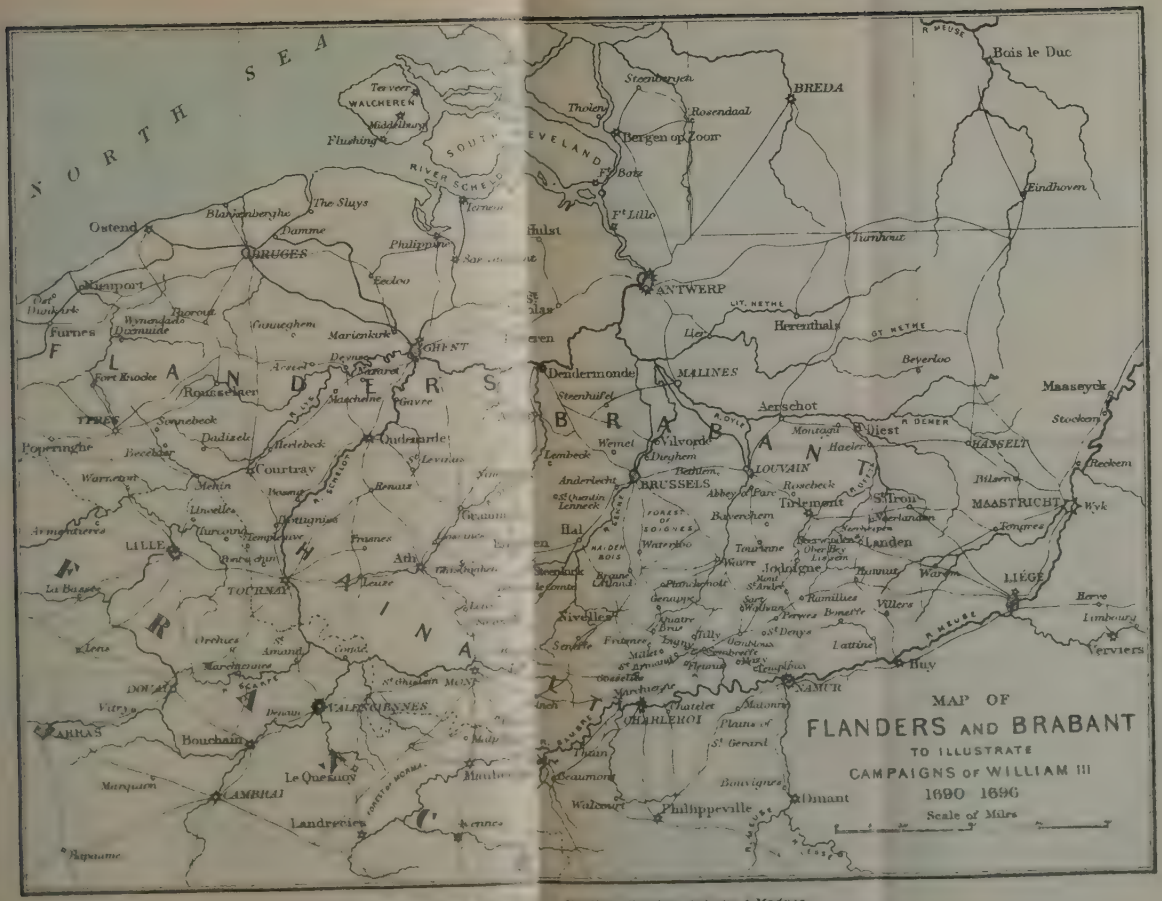
William presides at the congress at the Hague.

After a few days' deliberation it was agreed that the allies should keep in the field an army of 220,000 men to operate against France. The contingents to be furnished by each of the allies were fixed, and the various details of the ensuing campaign were settled.

The resolutions agreed on.

Two essentials for military success, full authority vested in one man, and perfect secrecy, are seldom to be found in coalitions. Moreover, it is difficult for two allies to be in such complete agreement that no cause for jealousy or misunderstanding should arise between them. But here there were not two, but twenty powers combined together, and supposed to act as one. There may be a moral strength added to a cause in its being supported by many allies; but the moral strength is more than counterbalanced by the weakness inherent in a coalition. That the Grand Alliance did not break up altogether is due to the consummate judgment and statesmanlike management of William, exercised not once, but over and over again. On the other hand, many of the successes in the ensuing campaigns which at-

Drawbacks in a coalition.



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tended the French arms may be traced to the fact that Lewis XIV. was his own master, made his own plans, consulted no other sovereign, and kept his own counsel.

SECTION II.—*Campaign of* 1691.

The plan of operations agreed on by the allies was, that the Emperor should, with an army, hold the Rhine and threaten the eastern frontier of France; that the Duke of Savoy should be prepared with another army to enter France through the passes of Piedmont; that Spain should have an army acting on her frontier; and that William and the northern allies should defend the Low Countries, and reduce the fortresses in French Flanders.

Allies have four armies in the field.

The frontiers of the Low Countries of Spanish Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, extended continuously for about 200 miles. They were defended by fortified towns, all of which were in the hands of the allies. Beginning on the west, we find Nieuport, Furnes, Dixmuide, Deynse, Oudenarde, Ath, Mons. Behind these, and joining a second line of defence, were Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels. From Mons the line of defence was continued to the east by the river Sambre, with the fortress of Charleroi, to the north-east by the Meuse, with the fortified towns, Namur, Huy, Liége, and Maestricht. During the coming campaign many of these towns were captured and recaptured, and the attempts to relieve their garrisons by either one side or the other were the causes of most of the battles. When the congress broke up, the French were supposed to be unprepared, and to be disposed to act only on the defensive. But suddenly Luxembourg appeared before Mons, with an army of 100,000 men. Lewis himself was also present, pro-

Lines of defence in the Netherlands.

Lewis and Luxembourg take Mons.

vided with every luxury to which he was accustomed at Versailles, and attended by a numerous retinue, including his troop of players, his musicians, his valets, and his cooks. Vauban, the engineer-in-chief, was also with the army. William, with some difficulty collecting a force of 50,000, marched to the relief of Mons. But before he had arrived near it he heard that Mons had fallen (April 9). William accordingly withdrew towards Brussels, left the Prince of Waldeck with a force of 18,000 men to defend that city, and placed his English troops in an entrenched camp. He then paid a hasty visit to England to arrange for the Irish campaign, and returned to Flanders in May.

On the fall of Mons, Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles, leaving Luxembourg to repair the damages done to the fortifications of the captured fortress, and to continue the campaign. With an army of 40,000 men, Luxembourg set out in May to surprise Brussels, Marshal Boufflers being detached with another French division of almost equal numbers to attack Liége. Waldeck had made the best disposition possible of his small army, and William was able to bring up his English contingent, and not only to check Luxembourg's advance, but also to send succour to Liége. Every day fresh reinforcements joined the allies, and at length, William finding himself superior in numbers to Luxembourg, tried to bring on a general action. Luxembourg, however, could not be tempted out of his lines. Rash when rashness was likely to succeed, he could be, when necessary, as cautious as William himself.

Manœuvres of the allies and the French.

Nothing further was done this year in the Spanish Netherlands. The troops went into winter quarters, and William returned to England on October 19.

The French gained some slight successes over Spain

on the Spanish and French frontier, and over the Duke of Savoy in Piedmont. On the Rhine nothing of importance took place.

Campaign ends abortively.

Lewis suffered a loss during this year for which many victories could not compensate. Louvois died in July. At enmity with Madame de Maintenon, bitterly mortified by the favour shown by Lewis to his rival and enemy Luxembourg, jealous and envious of the glory won at Mons, he suddenly fell ill and died. Lewis openly expressed his satisfaction, for he had for some time grown weary of the temper and insolence which his war minister displayed. But he soon found it impossible adequately to supply his place. Pre-eminent in military organisation, and unequalled in powers of administration, the ingenuity and activity of Louvois would have been of incalculable value to Lewis in the war which was now taxing the resources of France to the utmost.

Death of Louvois.

Section III.—*Campaign of* 1692. *La Hogue and Steinkirk.*

The failure of James's party in Ireland was a great blow to Lewis. He had hoped that the war in that island would be sufficient to engage William's attention, and to prevent his affording material aid to the allies on the Continent. He gave out, therefore, that he would make a great descent on England, and win back for James his lost kingdom. Extraordinary preparations were therefore made in the winter of 1691–2. On this expedition, and on the attack in the Netherlands, all the strength of France was to be employed. Lewis mustered altogether, in this year, 450,000 soldiers and 100,000 sailors. For the actual invasion of England 30,000

Lewis' preparations, and strength.

troops were told off, and were stationed at Havre, Cherbourg, and Fort la Hogue. Five hundred transports were collected for their conveyance, and a fleet, in which were fifty sail of the line, commanded by Tourville, was ordered to protect the passage. For service in the Netherlands an army of 100,000 was placed under the command of Luxembourg, and Lewis again joined them and opened the campaign in person.

William, who was commander-in-chief of the allies in the Netherlands, found himself at the head of 80,000 men to oppose Luxembourg.

Declaration of James.

James caused to be circulated in England a 'declaration' calling on his subjects to join his standard; in this he exhorted them not to be afraid of the vengeance of William, because French troops would soon land in sufficient numbers to protect them, and to overcome opposition; while at the same time he threatened various noblemen and prelates with punishment for their disloyalty. No sooner was this unwise declaration made public, than Mary and her council caused it to be printed and distributed in every direction. The effect of the publication was to unite Englishmen of all ranks and all political parties, to disgust even the Jacobites, and to make the statesmen, soldiers, and sailors who had been entrapped into correspondence with James, ashamed of their conduct, and return to their duty. Amongst those on whom the 'declaration' thus acted was Admiral Russell, now commanding the English fleet.

James left Versailles to witness the embarkation of the force intended for England, and pitched his tent in the camp formed at Fort la Hogue, a small but strongly fortified place on the east coast of the Cotentin peninsula, not many miles from Cherbourg. On May 17 the French transports began to receive their troops. On the same day Russell, with the combined English and

Dutch fleet, numbering ninety sail of the line, appeared off the coast of Cotentin. Tourville, with forty-four sail of the line, determined to give battle. James had shown Tourville a certain correspondence which had passed between himself and Russell, and had assured him that the greater part of the English captains and crews were Jacobites, who would desert on the first opportunity. James little knew the good done to the cause of his enemies by his 'declaration.' Tourville, therefore, in coming to this apparently rash determination, reckoned that if any resistance were offered to him, it would be but a lukewarm one.

Tourville attacks the English fleet.

The two fleets met about 20 miles from the French coast. The wind was at first favourable to the French, and permitted only half the allied fleet to come into action. The battle had lasted for five hours; but, although Tourville momentarily expected part of the English fleet to yield or retire, no sign of defection appeared. The wind then shifted, and brought together all the allies. Tourville saw that it was useless to contend longer against such odds, and gave the signal to retire. Every French ship made its way, as best it could, to the shores of France. Some of the fleet, making for St. Malo, escaped in safety through the dangerous channel known as the Race of Alderney. Three ships reached Cherbourg; one of these was the Royal Sun, the finest ship in the French navy, in which Tourville had hoisted his flag during the early part of the engagement. The remainder, 13 in number, were, under the orders of Tourville, stranded at La Hogue, with their broadsides turned towards the sea. A few days afterwards they were attacked by Sir G. Rooke with frigates, fireships, and boats from the squadron, and James had the mortification of being an eyewitness of their destruction. The Royal Sun and her two consorts

Battle of La Hogue. Defeat of Tourville.

were also burnt at Cherbourg by an English squadron under Admiral Delaval.

Last project of invasion by Lewis fails.

James's last chance of regaining the English throne vanished with the victory of Russell at La Hogue. No armament was ever again raised by Lewis for the invasion of England. Some military critics doubt whether Lewis intended the invasion, and think that he meant only to make a feint, in order to cause William to withdraw with his English troops from the Netherlands. If so, the stratagem had not the desired effect. When, on June 1, Lewis and Luxembourg invested Namur, William had with some difficulty collected an army near Huy of 70,000 men, with whom he hoped to force the French army, of more than 100,000, to raise the siege.

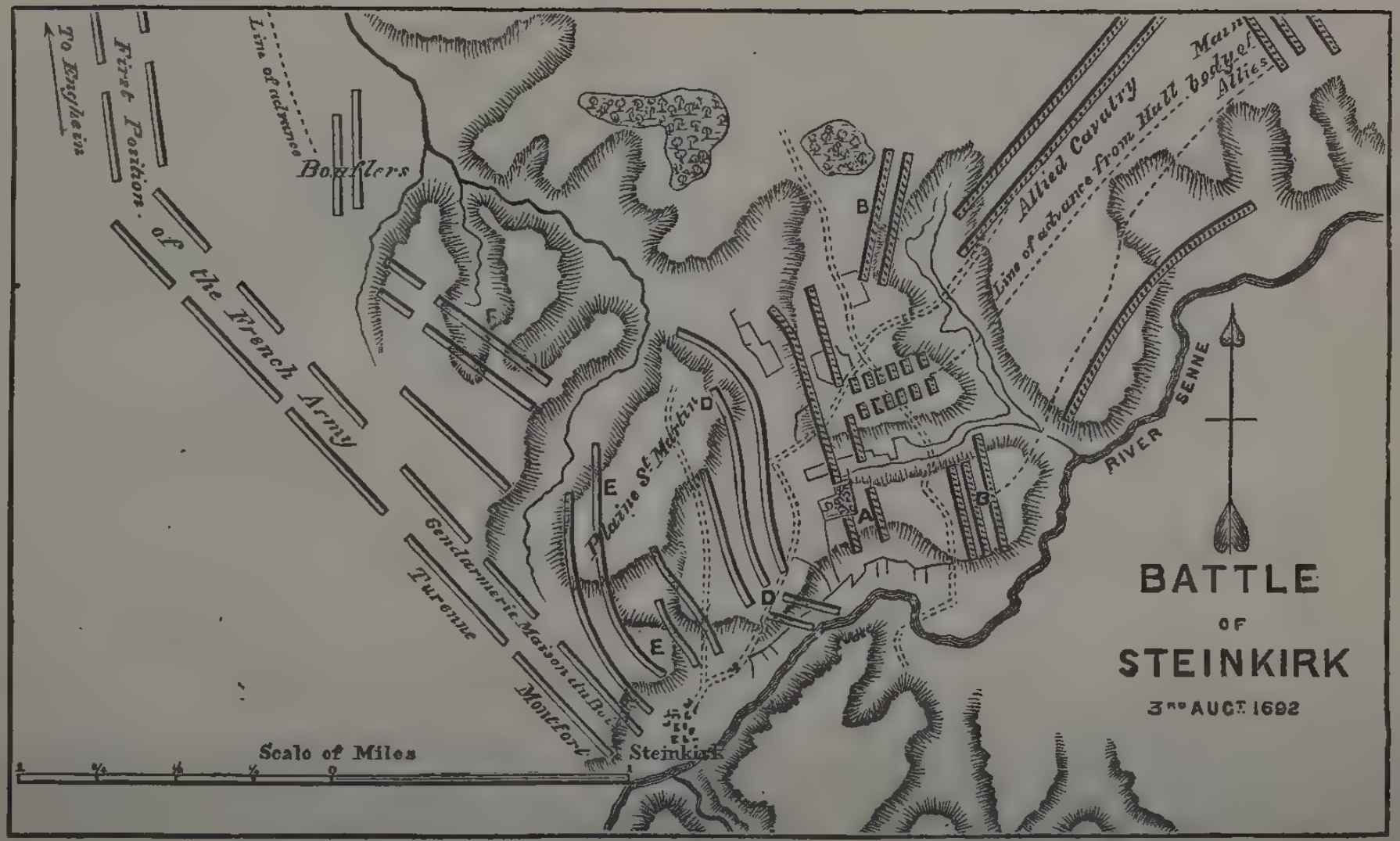
Namur is a fortified town situated at the junction of the Sambre and Meuse. Its defences had been greatly strengthened under the direction of Cohorn, the great Dutch engineer, the rival of Vauban. Cohorn was now present in the town to aid the garrison with his skill. Vauban was with Lewis to advise him in the conduct of the siege. Lewis himself undertook the reduction of the town, having detached Luxembourg with 80,000 men to cover the siege operations, and ward off any offensive movement of William. Luxembourg contented himself with always presenting a bold front to the allies, so that, if William should resolve on attacking him, it would be at a disadvantage. A continual downpour of rain, lasting for some days, caused the rivers to overflow their banks, and laid all the surrounding country under water, so that William was, by this means alone, unable to send any help to the garrison. On June 8 the town surrendered, but the citadel held out until the 23rd. Lewis made a triumphant entry into Namur, and then returned to Versailles, to receive the congratulations

Siege and capture of Namur by Lewis.

of Madame de Maintenon and the flatteries of his courtiers, whilst Luxembourg was left to conduct the campaign.

William, in his hopes of finding some opening in Luxembourg's lines through which he might reach Namur, had moved constantly to his right, so that on the day of the surrender of the capital he was about ten miles to the westward of the town. He at once withdrew his forces and took up a position at Genappe, close to the plain of Waterloo, so as to be able to defend Brussels against an army advancing from either Mons or Namur. Here, on August 1, he heard that Luxembourg had advanced from Mons, and had already reached the village of Steinkirk, and had there encamped his right wing, leaving his left wing, under the command of Boufflers, at Enghien, a village about four miles to the westward. William hoped by a rapid march to his right to surprise the French. On the morning of the 3rd he ordered his advanced guard of English and Dutch, numbering about 5,000 men, to attack the right wing of the French. The attack was vigorously made, and a French corps in advance of the right wing was pushed back, and threw those in rear somewhat into confusion. But the attacking party was not supported quickly. Luxembourg ordered his right to advance, supported it with regiments from his centre, and sent orders for the left wing to march obliquely from Enghien, and so threaten to outflank William's right. The surprise was now over, and the assailants were fighting against great odds. Gallantly the English and Dutch held their own, gaining, perhaps, a few feet of ground. The English foot-guards, in particular, covered themselves with glory. William could not, owing to the nature of the country, make sufficient use of his cavalry, and it was in fact itself in danger from the advance of the French left. Reluctantly, therefore, William gave the

Battle of Steinkirk.



A. Advanced Guard of Allies attacking French right. B. Supports of Allies advancing.
D. French in advance of their right wing. E. First line of right wing of French in support. F. Second line of French right wing.

word to fall back, and the allied army, in good order and unpursued, retired from the field.

The French loss at the battle of Steinkirk was about 7,000 killed and wounded; that of the allies was about the same in number, but the English alone lost 2,000 killed and 3,000 wounded.

Although the French were victorious, William gained the object he had in view, for Luxembourg was stopped on his march to Brussels, and compelled to wait eight days at Enghien, reorganising his army. Finding that William had again taken up a strong position in front of Brussels, Luxembourg turned his army westwards, and after various marches and counter-marches on both sides, both armies went into winter quarters. William himself left for England September 26.

Result of the battle.

The war this year languished on the Rhine and on the Spanish frontier, but the Duke of Savoy gained some trifling successes over the French in the Alps.

SECTION IV.—*Campaign of* 1693—*Neerwinden.*

William reached Holland again on March 31, 1693. It was with considerable difficulty that he smoothed over dissensions amongst the allies, and contrived to take the field in May, at the head of 50,000 men. Lewis also joined his soldiers under Luxembourg and Boufflers. They numbered more than double those which William commanded. Finding himself so strong, Lewis thought it would be easy for him to drive William out of Brabant, and annex that province. William had drawn up his army before Louvain, and so skilful were the dispositions he had made, that Lewis found the task he had undertaken more difficult than he had anticipated. Luxembourg assured his master that it would be impossible to move William

Lewis soon quits the army.

without fighting a pitched battle. Now battles were not to Lewis's taste. In them he knew he ran some personal risk, and that, even if he gained a victory, it might prove to be a barren one, a mere precursor of another engagement. In a siege, on the other hand, he had found by experience that he need not expose himself, and the captured town was a material proof of his military prowess. So finding there was no fortress to be invested, but a tough battle to be fought, Lewis took leave of his generals and hurried back to Versailles, having first sent half of his troops to reinforce the army on the Rhine. Luxembourg was left in sole command of the French army in Flanders, which, although thus reduced, still far outnumbered that of William.

William, however, having received some reinforcements, felt himself strong enough to send a division, under the Duke of Würtemberg, into French Flanders, to threaten Tournay and Lille. Luxembourg withdrew his army southwards and laid siege to Huy. William moved from his position before Louvain, to attempt the relief of Huy. He had advanced two days' march beyond Tirlemont, when he heard that Huy had surrendered, and that Luxembourg was preparing to invest Liége and Maestricht. He therefore hastily sent troops to reinforce the garrisons of these fortresses, and with his reduced army formed an encampment near Landen.

Huy captured by Luxembourg.

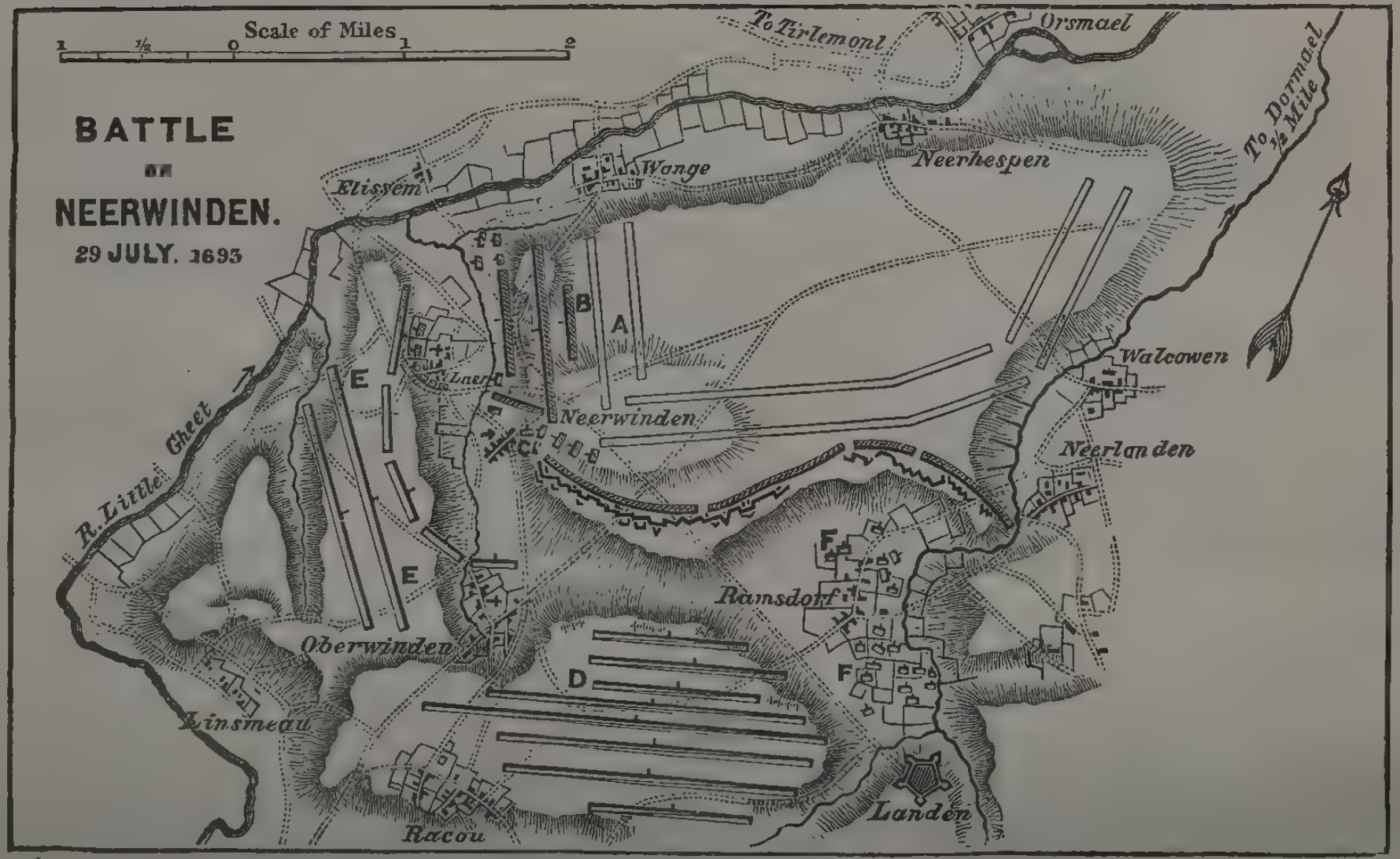
But Luxembourg having thus induced William to weaken his army by sending off reinforcements, concentrated his own troops, and, in hopes of crushing William by mere force of numbers, marched to give him battle. On July 28 he arrived in sight of William's camp, which he found formed on a well chosen spot, between the river Little Gheet and a small stream called the Landen, and in the rear of the three villages

of Laer, Neerwinden, and Romsdorf. The ground sloped down gradually from the camp towards these villages. The whole front of the position was strengthened by ditches, breastworks, and redoubts, in which nearly 100 guns were mounted. William, although he might have retreated, thought that, even with his inferior numbers (for he had barely 50,000 men to oppose to 70,000 under Luxembourg), the position could be held, and therefore waited the attack of the French. He drew up his army so that his left rested on the Landen, and was posted on rising ground to the rear of Romsdorf; his centre occupied the entrenchments in front of his camp, and his right held in force the villages of Laer and Neerwinden.

Disposition of William's army.

Luxembourg made his first attack with his own centre on that of William, but after two hours' hard fighting had made no impression. Retiring his centre, and sending from it regiments to strengthen each of his wings, with his right wing he occupied and held Romsdorf, with his left he attacked Laer and Neerwinden. These latter formed the key of the position, for, if they were taken by the French, William's right flank would be turned. A desperate struggle therefore took place round these villages. The defenders repulsed two attacks of infantry and three of cavalry. But William was obliged to move regiments from his centre to strengthen his extreme right at Laer, although the English guards and the Hanoverian contingent, without aid, held fast Neerwinden. Luxembourg now made a feint on the left of the allies, whilst he prepared for a last great effort on Neerwinden. He ordered to the attack the French guards, who were fresh and had been kept in reserve. These delivered a fierce assault on the defenders, who had been now engaged for seven hours, and who were driven slowly out of the village, stubbornly

Battle of Neerwinden.



A Allied Camp. B. Troops drawn from centre to support right wing. C. English Guards. D. French first attack.
E. French second attack. F. Right attack of French on left of the Allied intrenchments.

contesting every yard of ground. Luxembourg, once having gained Neerwinden, was able to use his cavalry with fatal effect on the right wing of the allies. William saw that the day was lost, and that he must retire. He had previously ordered a body of dragoons to hold the village of Dormael, about a mile in rear of his camp, and thither he directed his troops to fall back. This they did, but with no sign of disorder. The English troops covering the retreat, and led by William in person, again and again faced about and attacked the French, so that Luxembourg, after twelve hours' fighting, gave orders for his men to halt, and allowed the allies to continue their retreat without further molestation.

The losses of both the French and the allies at the battle of Neerwinden (or Landen, as it is sometimes called) were numerous. Luxembourg is computed to have lost, in killed and wounded, 17,000 men. The total loss of the allies was 6,000. Losses of each army.

William leisurely retired on Brussels, whilst Luxembourg, having halted a day on the field of battle, moved a few miles to his rear, and spent a fortnight in reorganising his army. During this time William was joined by all the troops he had detached to French Flanders. Luxembourg, on hearing this, withdrew southwards to Charleroi, and invested that fortress. After a siege of two months, Charleroi surrendered. Both armies soon after went into winter quarters, William arriving in England October 29. Charleroi captured.

In spite of the great losses at La Hogue, the naval resources of France were such that, in the year 1693, no less than 71 ships of the line, besides smaller vessels, were afloat. A gleam of success came to console Tourville under the despondency from which he had suffered since his defeat. The English and Dutch merchant fleet bound for Smyrna was escorted as far

as the coast of Spain by a large fleet of English men of war, but thence it was allowed to continue its voyage towards the Mediterranean with a convoy of only 20 men of war, commanded by Sir G. Rooke. Tourville lay in wait for the fleet, with a squadron of ships of the line greatly superior in force to that under Rooke. On June 27 he attacked the fleet, and destroyed the greater part. It was owing entirely to the valour and seamanship of Rooke that any escaped. Great indignation was felt in England and Holland at the carelessness of the Admiralty officials in allowing so valuable a fleet to be so inefficiently protected. The merchants of both countries were heavy losers by this disaster.

Great loss of English and Dutch merchantmen.

The French army on the Rhine effected but little. In Savoy, however, the army of Lewis gained a great victory at Massaglia (October 4), but for want of reinforcements was unable to follow it up. In Spain the result of the campaign was, on the whole, favourable to the French.

Campaign on Rhine, in Savoy, and Spain.

Both by land and sea, Lewis had in this year proved his power. Nevertheless he desired peace. He had put forth every effort, and had strained his resources to the utmost, and yet had gained no substantial success. A few fortresses in Spanish Flanders, and glorious but barren victories, were his only reward. Louvois, too, was dead, and there was no longer his fertile brain to devise expedients for replenishing the treasury. The taxes of France were increased to the utmost. The coinage was debased as much as possible. The nation was in the deepest distress. 'The people were perishing to the sound of Te Deums.'

Lewis wishes for peace.

The new Pope (Innocent XII.) who, in 1691, had succeeded Alexander, endeavoured to mediate. Spain and Savoy were willing to enter into negotiations, and

so also were Denmark and Sweden, but William urged the Emperor to continue the war, showing him that now was the time, when France was becoming exhausted, to crush permanently the power and pretensions of Lewis. William's arguments and his diplomacy were successful, and both the allies and France prepared for the campaign of 1694.

Negotiations come to nothing through William's unwillingness.

SECTION V.—*Campaign of* 1694.

A large fleet, with a considerable force of soldiers on board, was collected at Portsmouth, and from thence sailed to reduce Brest. But the French had been warned beforehand (it is said through Lord Marlborough having treacherously given information to James), and the fortifications had been strengthened by Vauban. The English troops were landed, but were repulsed, and the expedition proved a failure. However, Dunkirk, Calais, Dieppe, and Havre were in the course of the summer bombarded by the English, and much damage done. On the other hand, both the English and Dutch trade suffered considerably from French privateers.

Naval incidents of 1694.

William proceeded to the Netherlands on May 6. The campaign was productive of few events of importance. Luxembourg, who again commanded the French army, was now inferior in numbers to the allies, and skilfully managed to avoid a general engagement. Huy was, however, recaptured from the French on September 29. William returned to England in the beginning of November.

Campaign in Netherlands.

Lewis this year put out his greatest strength against Spain. He hoped thus to force the King of Spain to

make peace; but although his army captured some important towns, the presence on the coast of a strong English fleet prevented the realisation of his plans.

and in Spain.

In Savoy and Germany nothing noteworthy occurred.

The result of the campaign, however, was what William anticipated. France was still further weakened. Lewis could no longer strike a strong blow. His resources were almost exhausted. He would be unable to continue the contest much longer.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PARLIAMENT UNTIL 1695. DEATH OF QUEEN MARY.

IN the session of 1693–4 an important constitutional change was quietly inaugurated.

William had found a great difficulty in carrying on the government, owing to the disagreement amongst his ministers on matters of state policy. Tories and Whigs could hardly be expected to take the same views. He therefore resolved to consult a man whose judgment of party politics, and tact in dealing with factions, both English and foreign statesmen held in the highest esteem.

William consults Sunderland.

This man was Sunderland. Sunderland, having escaped to Holland in 1688, had lived a retired life in that country for two years, but had kept up a constant correspondence with influential friends in England, in order to pave the way for his return. Excluded by name from the Act of Grace, he yet ventured, when that bill became law, to return to England. Not, however, until the close of the session of 1692 did he

dare to appear in the House of Lords. From that time, however, he was constant in his attendance in the Upper House.

William, after consulting Sunderland, came to the conclusion that in future his ministers should be taken from one party in the state, so as to insure unanimity of opinion and action, and that that party from which he should first choose the united ministry should be the Whigs. A Whig ministry was accordingly formed, to which the name of Junto (a word signifying a joining together or union) was given. Somers, the great lawyer, was made lord keeper of the privy seal. Russell (his treasonable correspondence with James being overlooked as a reward for his victory at La Hogue) went to the Admiralty. Lord Shrewsbury, created a duke, became one of the secretaries of state. Thomas Wharton, the eldest son of Lord Wharton, became the other secretary. Wharton was a man of considerable ability, but his character was so bad that no one respected him. His profligacy was notorious, and his companionship was shunned even in an age of lax morality. He was also a gambler and a duellist. He was true to one thing only, and that was to the Whig party. But his powers as a party leader were extraordinary. Montague, a young man of only thirty-five years of age, who had already earned a reputation in Parliament by his oratory and his criticisms on financial matters, was made chancellor of the exchequer.

The Junto.

In 1692–3 the National Debt may be said to have had its commencement. The revenue did not suffice to provide for the extraordinary expenses of the war, and it was necessary to adopt some expedient for procuring more money. The wealth of the nation had greatly increased since the middle of this century. Money was more plenti-

Beginning of the National Debt.

ful, and means of employing this money was scarce. London had been, consequently, for the last four years, overrun with speculators proposing all kinds of ridiculous schemes for employing money and realising enormous profits. A bill was introduced into Parliament and carried, by which, adopting an expedient familiar to the financiers of Holland and France, the Government was empowered to borrow a million of money, and to grant in repayment annuities bearing interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum. Certain excise duties were set apart to form a fund for the purpose. The public, recognising the superiority of such security to that offered them by the speculators, readily responded, and the money was obtained with a promptitude which surpassed expectation.

In the next session 1693–4, the revenue still failed to meet the expenses of the war. A sum of 1,200,000*l.* was accordingly raised by borrowing it of a company of merchants, who undertook to provide it on condition of being incorporated, with certain privileges guaranteed by an act of parliament. The scheme was originally proposed by William Paterson, a Scotchman, but was now adopted by Montague with great success. The subscribers were formed into a corporation as the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. The original rate of interest was fixed at eight per cent.

Bank of England formed.

A great part of the time of this Second Parliament was spent in discussions on the proper securities for justice in trials for treason, on which the difference between Lords and Commons was such that the decision was delayed till the first session of the next Parliament (chap. xx.).

Another debated question was the Place Bill. Its aim was to prevent all persons holding offices of trust and emolument under the crown from sitting in the House of Commons. Doubtless, it is disadvantageous that the Lower House should be filled with

Place Bill.

office holders, but, on the other hand, nothing could be more injurious to the welfare of the country than to exclude from the Commons all the great functionaries of state. Those who voted for this bill probably did not consider that the inevitable result of its becoming law would have been, that all the great offices of state would be filled, and the country governed, by members of the House of Lords. The bill passed the Commons in 1692–3, but was rejected by the Lords by a small majority of three.

In 1693–4, the Place Bill passed both Houses, but the king refused his assent. On this being announced, a warm debate arose in the Commons, and it was proposed that the king should be asked his reasons for refusing assent. The motion was, however, rejected by a large majority, the House thus, with great moderation, acknowledging the power of giving a veto as then resting with the crown.

Place Bill passed, but royal assent refused.

Another bill on which there was a similar difference between king and Parliament came to a different issue. This was a bill for triennial Parliaments. It was a very short bill, and only provided that no future Parliament should last longer than three years. It was intended to prevent the recurrence of such conduct as that of Charles II., in continuing one Parliament for seventeen years. The king had refused his assent to this bill, when it passed both Houses in 1692–3.

Triennial Bill.

Two years afterwards this Triennial Bill at last became law. In 1694–5, Parliament coupled it with a bill of supply, and the want of these supplies, and the fear of probable disturbances if Mary died (for the queen was now seriously ill), perhaps induced William to give his assent. The Triennial Act remained in force until the Septennial Act was passed, twenty years afterwards.

Triennial Bill passed.

Small-pox was particularly virulent in the year 1694. Among those attacked in the month of December was Queen Mary. Great alarm was at once felt by her friends, and William showed so much grief as to astonish those around him, for he was never in the habit of letting others see him exhibit strong feeling. Now, however, he broke down. He burst into tears and said, 'that from being the happiest he was now going to be the miserablest creature upon earth.' In a few days all hope was at an end. Mary's behaviour to the last was remarkable. She never once allowed an impatient word to escape her; with the utmost calmness she gave the last directions to her servants; she addressed expressions of comfort and consolation to the king, and showed the greatest pleasure and satisfaction at the attendance of the ministers of religion. She died on December 20, aged 33. The grief for her death was not confined to the court, for her charity was great. 'She never inquired of what opinion persons were who were objects of charity.' Handsome in person, and lively in manners, no word of slander was ever breathed against her. 'Her debts were small, and everything in that exact method as seldom is found in any private person.' 'I'm sure,' says one who was no partisan of William of Orange, 'she was as admirable a woman, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth.'

Illness and death of Queen Mary.

No act of James's life showed more his mean and revengeful disposition than his request to Lewis that the French court should not put on mourning for his daughter's death.

The liberty of the press was recognised in 1695. Hitherto the publication of books had been restrained by an act of parliament, renewed every three years, which required every book to be licensed. All legal works had to receive the 'im-

Censorship of press abandoned.

primatur,' or permission to be printed, of the lord chancellor or his deputy; all books on history and politics, the license of one of the secretaries of state or his deputy; and all treatises on divinity, physic, or philosophy, that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The last act to restrain unlicensed printing had been passed in 1692, and in 1695 the time for which it was in force expired. No new act was brought forward in the House, and thus the censorship of the press was quietly abandoned.

The last weeks of the session of 1695 disclosed a system of wide-spread corruption among the members of both Houses. The Speaker of the House of Commons, confessing to having received bribes, was expelled the House. The Commons prepared to impeach various officials. The Duke of Leeds (to which title the Marquis of Carmarthen, formerly Earl of Danby, was now raised), proposing to defend some of those accused, was himself threatened with impeachment. At this juncture the king suddenly prorogued the Parliament, and in the following October it was dissolved.

Bribery prevalent.

Parliament dissolved.

CHAPTER XIX.

VARIOUS PLOTS AGAINST WILLIAM. PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN 1695.

SECTION I.—*Disgrace of Marlborough.*

IN narrating the defeat off Beachy Head, and the consequent court-martial on Torrington, attention was directed to the extraordinary reaction in the public feeling, which, at first directed against Torrington, suddenly turned in his favour. The cause of this reaction was

stated to be jealousy of the Dutch. This jealousy continued to increase. William was supposed to look after Dutch interests in preference, and sometimes in opposition, to English interests. Few Englishmen of that day could appreciate the Continental policy of William. He was popularly thought to be carrying on the war to maintain the integrity of the United Provinces, and to secure his own seat on the English throne. Englishmen could not understand that he was struggling to deliver Europe from slavery to Lewis XIV.

Jealousy felt by the English towards Holland.

Marlborough probably shared these popular prejudices, or, if he did not, he made use of them for his own purposes. At all events, he thought he was not sufficiently rewarded by William. After his brilliant and dashing campaign in the south of Ireland, he saw a Dutchman, Ginkell, appointed in the next spring to lead the army in Ireland, whilst he was carried off by William to attend on him in the campaign of 1691, and was not entrusted with an independent command. Marlborough's spirit chafed against being employed in a secondary position. He had confidence in his own military genius, and knew it to be superior to that of William's favoured Dutch generals. He was determined no longer to serve a master who did not value him. He strove in the first place to weaken William's influence by fomenting, among officers in the army and navy, and members of both Houses of Parliament, the feeling of jealousy towards the Dutch. He next entered into close communications with the late king at St. Germains. But he was sure that England would not submit to the resumption of the throne by James Stuart. He therefore planned another solution of the difficulty, which would at the same time promote his own interests.

Disaffection of Marlborough.

Lady Marlborough was the attendant and confi-

dential friend of the Princess Anne. The princess was indolent, good-tempered, and pliant. Lady Marlborough was strong-minded, imperious, and ambitious. They were on such familiar terms that the princess was habitually addressed by Lady Marlborough as Mrs. Morley, and Lady Marlborough by the princess as Mrs. Freeman. Marlborough's scheme was by making use of the feeling of jealousy towards the Dutch to render William hated; then, with the co-operation of France, to drive him out of England; and then to proclaim the Princess Anne, who would be ruled altogether by himself and his wife. Thus he hoped to outwit William, Lewis, and the Jacobites. But there were those at the court of St. Germains who remembered the perfidy of the former *protégé* of James, and who placed no trust in the sincerity of his present professions. They thought he was either endeavouring to gain further favour with William by betraying the English Jacobites, or that he had some scheme in his head similar to the one he had so adroitly planned. They therefore forwarded to the English minister a full account of Marlborough's dealings with the court of James.

Lady Marlborough and the Princess Anne.

Marlborough's treachery revealed to William.

William would have liked to bring Marlborough to trial; but since the evidence of his guilt could not be produced in court without betraying the confidence of those who had sent the information, he dismissed him from all his offices on January 10, 1692. The Princess Anne was ordered at the same time to send away Lady Marlborough. This she would not consent to do. Anne, therefore, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, were desired forthwith to leave the court, and they retired to Sion House, remaining for a long time in disgrace with William.

Marlborough and his wife dismissed from court.

SECTION II.—*Plots of Fuller, Grandval, and Charnock.*

All through the winter of 1691–2 vague misgivings were floating through society, those misgivings which are so indicative of deep-seated popular dissatisfaction. Men felt that plots were being hatched, and that the times were troublous. This was a condition favourable to the growth of false witnesses. An apt pupil of Titus Oates, one Fuller, a man who had failed to make a living by obtaining money under false pretences, came forward, and accused more than fifty noblemen and gentlemen of signing an address to Lewis, which begged him to put forth one more great effort for the Stuarts. Doubtless, some such address was being prepared by the Jacobite party in England, for addresses of this kind were constantly forwarded to St. Germains for transmission to Versailles. But the persons accused by Fuller were able to escape conviction. On cross-examination his tale broke down, ministers and lawyers proving less credulous than in the time of his tutor, Oates. So Fuller was himself tried, and was convicted and sentenced as a common rogue and vagabond.

Fuller's pretended plot.

William fortunately escaped falling a victim to a dangerous plot which was concocted against his life. Louvois, Lewis's minister, when on his death-bed, proposed that William should be murdered whilst with the allied army in the Netherlands. He found a Frenchman named Grandval willing to undertake to carry out the design. Grandval accordingly sought for accomplices, and thought he had found fitting ones in Dumont, a Walloon, and Liefdale, a Dutchman. In company with these he entered the Low Countries, but soon found himself brought a prisoner into the camp of William, for both his accomplices had betrayed him. Soon after the battle of Steinkirk he was tried by a court-

Grandval's plot.

martial. Before his judges he made a full confession, and acknowledged that he had had a parting interview with James and his wife, both of whom had been gracious to him, and promised him large rewards if successful. Grandval was found guilty and executed.

Both Louvois and his master Lewis showed in this affair, as in the devastation of the Palatinate, their utter disregard for the laws of war among civilised nations. The discovery of this plot made the Whigs sympathise more with William, and show less antipathy to his tried Dutch friends. They now became aware of the dangers to which he was exposed. The Jacobites also let James and Lewis know that any further attempts against the person of William would, if unsuccessful, serve only to render William more popular, and, if successful, would not assure the return of James to England. No fresh conspiracies against the life of William had therefore been encouraged by James, until after the death of Queen Mary, although Jacobite intrigues against William's government were being continuously carried on. But in the year 1695 the position of affairs was altered. Queen Mary was dead, and William sat alone on the throne, a foreigner, and not very popular. At the same time the French resources were failing, and the allies were gaining strength. Home politics in England were in an unsettled state. The Jacobites therefore began to bestir themselves more actively, and to urge their correspondents in England to be on the alert. Thus roused, a conspiracy was formed, of which the ruling spirit was Charnock, a late fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who, whilst James was reigning, had become a convert to Romanism, and was now an unscrupulous Jacobite agent. With him were associated Porter and Goodman, men of infamous character, Sir William Parkyns, a prominent Tory lawyer, and Sir John Fen-

Cessation of plots against the life of William.

wick, formerly member of parliament for Northumberland, who had made himself notorious by passing Queen Mary in public without saluting her, and in such a manner as to show that he intended to insult her. Time slipped away, so that before the conspirators had matured any possible plan, William had started for Holland. They determined, therefore, to send Charnock to St. Germains to arrange with the ministers of James their future plans, and to obtain the approval of James and the active co-operation of Lewis XIV.

Section III.—*Capture of Namur by William.*

On January 5, 1695, Marshal Luxembourg died. This was a great loss to Lewis, for he had no other general of equal ability. In place of Luxembourg, Marshal Villeroi was sent to the Netherlands. Villeroi was a great favourite at court, and had the reputation of being a consummate master of the art of war. One of the French court historians says that the opening of this campaign was a beautiful game of chess. William, however, throughout the campaign, fairly out-generalled Villeroi. He had never out-generalled Luxembourg.

Villeroi commands the French in the Netherlands.

The allied forces in the Netherlands numbered about 125,000. Villeroi had under him over 100,000. At the beginning of June William was ready to begin the campaign. His plan was to threaten Ypres, to draw all the French forces in that direction to the westwards, and then suddenly to besiege Namur in force. In accordance with this design, he marched from Brussels to Rousselaer with 53,000 men. Thence he made a strong demonstration against Villeroi's camp near Ypres. Finding Villeroi in strength, William withdrew from the allied army, taking with him the main body of his cavalry, and leaving Charles Henry, Prince of

William's tactics against Villeroi.

Vaudemont, to command a force reduced to about 35,000. William reached the army of the allies, which was commanded by the Elector of Bavaria, and consisted of 36,000 men, and marching eastward with these, effected a junction with the Brandenburgers (now Prussians) who were about 12,000 strong. The united army appeared before Namur.

The garrison of Namur, consisting of 12,000 men, was commanded by Bouffiers.

Villeroi, knowing how comparatively weak Vaudemont was, hoped to crush him easily; but Vaudemont retreated so speedily to Ghent that Villeroi was unable to bring him to action. Villeroi early in July took Dixmuide and Deynse, and then intended again to march against Vaudemont. But as Vaudemont had by this time marched eastwards from Ghent, Villeroi turned aside to bombard Brussels (August 11), and then set out to relieve Namur. Vaudemont had already joined William before Namur.

Villeroi bombards Brussels.

Namur was closely invested by William, who during the month of July pressed on the siege, each day gaining some fresh advantages. On August 4 the town surrendered, but the citadel (into which the garrison, reduced now to 7,000 men, had retired) still held out. On August 30 the allies tried to carry the citadel by storm, but were repulsed with great loss. Villeroi, who had arrived near the investing army, in vain sought to find some weak point through which he might pierce the line of the allies, and relieve the besieged. But William's position was too strong for him, and he was eventually compelled to withdraw. Bouffilers, seeing the besiegers preparing to make another assault on the citadel, proposed (September 1) to capitulate, and his proposal was accepted by William. The loss of the garrison during the siege was

William captures Namur.

6,500, that of the besiegers no less than 9,000. With the capture of Namur the campaign of 1695 in the Netherlands virtually came to an end. William returned to England, and about the same time Villeroi sent his army into winter quarters.

Nothing of importance occurred this year on the Rhine. The Duke of Savoy had been secretly gained over by Lewis.

Duke of Savoy in secret league with Lewis.

Although still nominally a party to the Grand Alliance, he had promised Lewis to do all he could in the councils of the allies to promote the wishes of the French king. In consideration of this, and to blind the eyes of William and the Emperor, Casale, in North Italy, after a mock siege, was surrendered by the French to the Duke of Savoy.

The campaign resulted in a great gain to the allies. Lewis's resources were still further weakened, and the French had no longer a superiority in generalship. Moreover, the capture of Namur, following closely on that of Huy, made a great moral impression on Europe. Namur was the first of Lewis's conquests of which he had been deprived by force, and this seemed to make a turn in the tide.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT. THE ASSASSINATION PLOT. THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR, 1696.

SECTION I.—*The Session of* 1695-1696.

ON October 11, 1695, William dissolved Parliament, and summoned the new one to meet on November 22. When it assembled, it was proved that it contained a decided Whig majority. There were causes, partly political and partly social, for the change from a Tory

majority to a Whig one. The political causes were the dislike felt by the country to the continued factious opposition of the Jacobites, not only to William, but also to English interests; and the feeling of insecurity provoked by the constant apprehension of plots and insurrections. The social causes were the high price of corn and the bad state of the coinage. At this time considerable distress was felt in England. From 1692 to 1699, a succession of bad seasons produced bad crops. These years were in the west of Europe known as the 'seven barren years.' For some years past the silver coinage of England had suffered continual depreciation by the knavery of a gang of thieves known as 'clippers,' who had by various ingenious tricks diminished the weight of the coins by one half. Those into whose hands good coins of full weight came, hoarded them, so that only the bad money was in circulation. It is stated that four millions of bad money were in use. The price of corn and all necessary articles of food and manufacture seemed, therefore, still further artificially increased by the dearth of good money, and the depreciation of that which was in use.

Whig majority in new Parliament.

The session lasted until April 1696. The state of the coinage at once occupied the attention of Parliament. An act was passed calling in the 'clipped' money, and raising 1,200,000*l.* by a duty on houses to defray the consequent loss. The act also announced that the depreciated coin would be received as payment of taxes. A new coinage was ordered to be struck, and in order that every possible care might be taken to insure that the new money should be of correct weight, the great mathematician, Sir Isaac Newton, was appointed master of the mint.

New coinage.

An important bill, for regulating trials for treason, had been introduced into the House of Commons in the ses-

sion of 1690–1 ; but, on its being sent up to the Lords, a clause was introduced to which the Commons would not assent, and the bill was consequently dropped. Though three attempts were made, the bill never passed the Lords during the continuance of the second Parliament. As it passed in the Commons, it was an additional safeguard to the liberties of Englishmen. It enacted (1.) That the accused, in trials for treason, should be furnished with a copy of his indictment at a small fee ; (2.) That he should be allowed counsel to defend him ; (3.) That no one should be indicted except on the oaths of two witnesses, and within three years of the alleged commitment of the offence ; (4.) That a list of the jury should be furnished to the accused ; (5.) That the accused should have the power of summoning witnesses.

Treason Bill.

Treason Bill passed.

During the first session of this new Parliament the Treason Bill at length passed both Houses, and became law.

Section II.—*The Assassination Plot.*

The Jacobites had vainly solicited Lewis XIV. to send an army into England whilst William was absent in Holland in 1695, and their representations to the court of Versailles had been supported by Charnock, in whom James seems to have confided. Now, however, that Namur had fallen, Lewis found himself reduced to desperate straits, and thought it advisable again to encourage conspirators. He was not averse to any means that would rid him of his enemy, William of Orange. Two plots were accordingly matured, of both of which the courts of Versailles and St. Germains were cognisant.

Lewis again encourages the Jacobites.

The one plot proposed an invasion of England, to follow a rising of the Jacobites. The Duke of Berwick,

an illegitimate son of James, was accordingly sent in disguise to England to make arrangements for the insurrection, and at the same time a large body of troops was collected at Calais, under the command of Boufflers, to cross the straits of Dover so soon as the Jacobites should have declared themselves.

Proposed invasion.

The other plot had for its object the assassination of King William. The carrying out of this plot was intrusted to Sir George Barclay, a Scotch follower of Dundee, and a bold and unscrupulous man. He obtained the assistance of Charnock, Fenwick, Parkyns, and of all those who had joined with Charnock in the preceding year. Numerous consultations took place, and at last a scheme of assassinating William on his return from hunting at Richmond was finally adopted. The day fixed for the deed was February 15; but Bentinck, Earl of Portland, the old and tried friend of William, had received information from one of the conspirators of the intended attempt, and had persuaded the king not to hunt on that day. The conspirators had assembled to the number of forty, and were in high spirits, for they thought they were sure of success, as they had managed to gain over by bribery some of the royal guards, when they were told that the hunt had been postponed to that day week, the 22nd. Portland, in the meantime, obtained further proof of the plot. Again the hunting party was countermanded, and the conspirators began to fancy they were discovered. Their uncertainty lasted but a short time, for before the end of the day many were arrested, Charnock and Parkyns amongst them, whilst a few, amongst whom were Fenwick and Barclay, escaped. Charnock immediately offered to turn king's evidence. He said that if his punishment were commuted from death to imprisonment he would reveal the names of all those in England

Assassination Plot fails.

cognizant of either of the present plots, and also of past ones. William knew that the fortunes of his false and treacherous courtiers would be at his mercy, but magnanimously refused to hear Charnock's confessions.

Most of those who were taken were convicted and executed. The failure of the Assassination Plot caused the postponement of the proposed Jacobite rising, and of the consequent invasion of England by French troops.

Both Houses of Parliament received the intelligence of the Assassination Plot with horror and disgust. The plan of an 'Association' was forthwith drawn up on paper. This 'association for the defence of their sovereign and country,' bound the subscribers to defend William, to avenge his death if he were killed, and to support the order of succession framed by the Bill of Rights. Nearly all the members of both Houses signed this paper. Similar documents were distributed throughout the kingdom, and were signed by the greater number of the country gentry and men of influence.

Association formed for the defence of William.

The formation of the Association not merely strengthened William's seat on the throne, but also gave additional influence to the Whigs. The collapse of the plot, and the treachery of one or more of the conspirators, proved also to those Englishmen who were still inclined to intrigue with St. Germains, that but little reliance could be placed on the good faith or discretion of James and his advisers. Many, therefore, of those who were wavering in their allegiance to William, no longer opposed him.

Consequence of the failure of the plot.

SECTION III.—*The Campaign of* 1696.

The campaign of this year was rendered almost ridiculous by the paltry results gained by the large armies in the

field. Lewis, prevented by the failure of the Assassination Plot from making any direct attempt on England by invasion, was at the same time unwilling to risk his troops against the strong army collected by the allies in the Netherlands, for William and Vaudemont had at least 250,000 men under their command. The French soldiers were not only inferior in numbers, but were also for the most part raw recruits, and were discontented, being in arrears of pay. Villeroi accordingly did nothing but watch William, who, on his side, was unwilling to risk in battle the advantages he saw that he must gain by merely compelling Lewis to keep large armies in the field, at a time when the French, both as regarded their finances and recruits, were in so exhausted a condition.

Inaction in the Netherlands.

The Duke of Savoy openly declared his desertion from the allies, and concluded (August 14) an offensive and defensive alliance with Lewis. Immediately joining his army to the French one, under Catinat, he threatened Milan. In consequence of this an agreement was entered into between the allies on the one hand, and the Pope and the other Italian powers on the other hand, that the Italian peninsula should be deemed neutral. Lewis had therefore no longer to provide for the safety of his south-eastern frontier, and had the army of the Duke of Savoy at his disposal.

Neutrality of Italy.

SECTION IV.—*The Session* 1696-1697 *of the Parliament.*

Sir John Fenwick had, after the discovery of the Assassination Plot, attempted to fly to France; but, although for some time he continued to escape those who were seeking for him, he was eventually captured when in hiding at New Romney in Kent. The chief evidence implicating Fenwick had been given by Goodman and Porter; but before Fenwick could be brought

to trial, Goodman had been persuaded to leave England, so that now Porter was the only witness against him. As the Treason Act, passed in the last session, required two witnesses, it became impossible to obtain a conviction in course of law. But Fenwick was personally so odious to William, on account of his behaviour to the late Queen Mary, that the ministers were pressed by the king to devise some means of punishing him. There was no moral doubt of Fenwick's guilt, and there was direct proof that Lady Mary Fenwick (his wife) had tampered with Goodman and got him out of the kingdom.

Bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick.

A bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick was consequently brought into the Commons, so that the legal evidence could be supplied by the depositions previously made by Goodman before the privy council, and by what he had sworn before the grand jury in the trial of the others concerned in the plot. The discussions which took place in the Commons were long and lively, and the motion for the bill was ultimately carried by a very small majority. In the Lords, it is doubtful if the bill would have been carried at all, had not Fenwick injudiciously offered to make disclosures of the intrigues of various English statesmen with James. Many Tories therefore, Marlborough amongst them, voted for the bill, in order that Fenwick's confession might be averted. The strong opposition to the bill, which provided for the punishment of a man obviously guilty, and which was wished for by the king, is a proof of the jealous and watchful care for the liberty of the subject now taken by the Parliament.

Fenwick executed.

Fenwick was, on January 11, 1697, 'convicted and attainted of high treason, and condemned to suffer the pains of death, and to incur all forfeitures, as a person in due course of law convicted of high treason.' On January 28 he was executed.

Another attempt was made this session to revive the licensing of the press. One of the newspapers established since the censorship of the press had been abandoned (1695) had inserted a paragraph which was stated to call in question the credit of the exchequer bills issued by the Government. A bill was therefore brought into Parliament to prevent the publication of news without the authority of the secretary of state, but it was rejected.

Bill for licensing the press rejected.

On April 16 William adjourned Parliament, and on the 26th sailed for Holland. Before his departure he created Somers a peer, and made him lord chancellor; Montague he made first lord of the treasury, and Russell was created Earl of Orford.

SECTION V.—*Peace of Ryswick.*

The year 1697 broke with a gloomy outlook for all the warring nations, but most of all for France.

The 'seven barren years' were felt more in France than in England. Since 1692 the distress had increased yearly. The taxes failed to produce money enough to support the war, and yet many heads of families were unable to earn in the course of the year as much as they were expected to pay in taxes alone. The crops failed utterly. Absolute ruin stared Lewis in the face, and French financiers could devise no remedy. England and Holland also were not averse to peace, if only France was humbled, the pretensions of Lewis to direct the policy of Western Europe brought to an end, and the claims of the Stuarts set at rest. English and Dutch commerce had suffered much from the depredations of French privateers, and England had besides its own currency troubles, and had also suffered from a partial failure of the crops.

Distress in France.

England and Holland desire peace.

The health of the King of Spain was becoming worse. If he were to die, the succession to the throne would be disputed, and William felt sure that fresh complications would arise which would endanger the alliance. He therefore thought the present a good opportunity to propose preliminaries of peace.

Spanish succession.

The Emperor was not so desirous or willing, but he was informed that if he would not consent to discuss preliminaries, England and Holland would conclude a peace with France on their own account. He therefore agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Ryswick, a village in Holland, between the Hague and Delft, where William had a palace. A congress met there on May 9 at which were present accredited agents from all the allies, and from Lewis and the Duke of Savoy. For weeks the congress discussed matters, but could arrive at no satisfactory conclusions.

Plenipotentiaries meet at Ryswick.

Near Brussels the English and French armies faced each other. Bentinck, Lord Portland, was with the English army; Boufflers commanded the French. William proposed that these two should meet, and see if they could not agree to some basis on which treaties could be arranged. Lewis consented, and after six meetings the chief points of the negotiation were settled and written out.

Boufflers and Bentinck agree on terms.

On September 20 three several treaties were made, between France on the one hand, and England, Holland, and Spain on the other.

The treaty with Great Britain provided that both France and England should restore the conquests they had respectively made in America; that Lewis should no longer foster intrigues in England, and that William should not encourage French Protestants in rebellion; and that Lewis should recognise William III. as lawful king of Great Britain

Treaty between France and England.

and Ireland, and should no longer afford any assistance to James Stuart. By the treaty with Holland, France gave the Dutch certain commercial advantages, and received back from them Pondicherry, in India, which they had conquered. By the treaty with Spain, Lewis restored all conquests in Catalonia, and all those places in the Spanish Netherlands taken by him in the war, and those which the 'chambers of reunion' had granted him since the peace of Nimwegen. The Emperor still held aloof A special article had been inserted in the treaties already signed, that the month of October should be allowed to the Emperor and the princes of the empire to come to a decision. On October 30 the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor signed a treaty with Lewis. By this treaty Lewis restored all the provinces and towns which he had taken by decrees of the 'chambers of reunion,' except Elsass (Alsace), which now became a French province. Lothringen (Lorraine) was again restored to its duke. Lewis inserted one clause, viz., 'that the Roman Catholic religion should remain in the places restored on the same footing as it then was.' This clause has been, and still is, productive of much social dissension among Germans. Had the Emperor been less backward in concluding the treaty, he would have obtained more advantageous terms, but Lewis having already made sure of peace with England, Holland, and Spain, was able to hold out more firmly against the demands of the Emperor, and to insist on the retention of Elsass (Alsace).

Treaty between France and Holland, and between France and Spain.

Treaty between France and Germany.

The results of the treaty of Ryswick may appear small as far as territorial changes are considered. France, however, now lost ground. She was again forced to confine herself, with one exception (Elsass), to the limits set down for her

Results of the peace of Ryswick,

at the peace of Nimwegen (1678). But the great result was that England formed in Western Europe the counterpoise which preserved the balance of power. The alliance of England was henceforth sought by any state suffering from the encroachments of France, and for one hundred and fifty years it continued to be the policy of England to ally herself with those nations opposed to France. A second, though temporary, result was that Europe now had some breathing time to prepare for what William knew was imminent, the general struggle which must take place at the death of the childless King of Spain, and the consequent breaking up of the great Spanish dominions.

(1.) to Europe.

The result of the treaty of Ryswick to Great Britain was much more advantageous than it at first appeared. By acknowledging William as king of England, and giving up the House of Stuart, Lewis practically relieved England from all fears of invasion, and of losing its independence. 'For,' says a great modern historian, 'that danger which has sometimes been in our countrymen's mouths, with little meaning, of becoming a province to France, was then close and actual; for I hold the restoration of the House of Stuart to be but another expression for that ignominy and servitude.'

(2.) to England.

What was the result of the nine years' fighting as regards France? On the one hand a slight territorial gain, which has caused a constant irritation between her and Germany; on the other hand the people had become impoverished, and in consequence oppressed by nobles and tax-gatherers; the love of war and of glory was engendered amongst the soldiers, forming them into a distinct class, with few feelings in common with the nation; a desire had arisen amongst

(3.) to France.

all Frenchmen for increase of territory; and there had been a loosening of all the ties which unite society together. Many of the horrors of the French Revolution, and the sufferings of France in the present century, may be directly traced to the pernicious policy of Lewis XIV. and his courtiers.

England had made great strides since the accession of Charles II. Her exports had wonderfully increased. The North American Colonies and West Indies had opened great fields for trade. Her connection with Holland under William III. had widened her commercial dealings. The Huguenot refugees had become some of her most industrious citizens. The war which had ruined France had not really impoverished England. The money expended in it was being returned with large interest by the increase of trade, caused in great part by the high position which England now occupied among European states, and the advantages she was able to secure for her commerce through this position.

And for these substantial results England is indebted to William III. His patient industry, his far-seeing policy, and his constancy in struggling against the fortune of war, were the means not only of raising England to a position equal to that of France in the consideration of European Powers, but were also the means of rousing again in the hearts of Englishmen patriotism, enterprise, and self-reliance. Notwithstanding his foreign habits, his faults of manner, and his predilection for his Dutch friends, the majority of Englishmen had learnt, at the close of the seventeenth century, not only to respect but also to love the trustworthy Hollander, William of Orange, whom they had chosen for their king, in place of the false Stuart.

CHAPTER XXI.

Literature and Science in England and France in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century.

THE Renaissance, or revival of learning and art, had, in Italy, France, and Germany, sent men back to the study of the great writers of antiquity. Classical authors were esteemed with an almost superstitious veneration, but the result nevertheless was that men's intellects were made active, and the way was cleared for the advent of the great religious revolution, the Protestant Reformation

Effect of the Reformation on science and literature.

With the Reformation arrived a further increase of intellectual activity. Men set themselves not only to work out theological problems, but also to prosecute scientific investigations. Freedom of thought came, and the chains which had bound students to their classical models were forthwith cast off.

In England the Renaissance had not preceded the Reformation. The wars of York and Lancaster, and the unsettled succession to the throne, had hitherto kept England in intellectual darkness. Bright lights, such as Chaucer (1328-1400), here and there pierced the darkness, but it was the Reformation which, in England, caused the revival of the study of Greek and Hebrew, and which, with more rapid steps than on the Continent, led to original thought and original research.

The first half of the seventeenth century, which was rendered famous in England by our great philosopher, Bacon (1561-1626), was made no less so in France by his followers, the illustrious philosophers and mathematicians, Descartes (1596-1650) and Pascal (1623-1662).

But when the despotic power of Lewis XIV. came to

its height, then freedom of thought vanished in France. Lewis could not brook originality. He desired that his subjects should not only do as he ordered them, but that they should also believe as he told them, and think as he wished them. He adopted therefore the plan of patronising men of genius; that is to say, of making them mean-spirited and venal, 'utterly unfit to fulfil their great vocation as the apostles of knowledge and the missionaries of truth.' The result was that originality was crushed.

Effect of the patronage of Lewis.

The great authors, philosophers, artists, and architects whose writings and works are said to grace the age of Lewis XIV., produced their best before the so-called patronage of the king had time to show its effects. Year after year during his reign authors exhibited less power, and more and more imitated classical models. They feared to be original. Originality meant independence of thought, and they knew that Lewis hated independence. Their writings were indeed marked by the utmost polish and by that refined wit for which French writers are conspicuous, but they were artificial. Racine (1639-1699), Molière (1622-1673), Boileau (1636-1711), and La Fontaine (1621-1695), showed one and all that their great natural powers were enfeebled by the enervating influence of patronage. Patronage was under Lewis made to play the same part in literature and art that bribery did in politics.

Freedom of thought, the offspring of the Reformation, which had taken firm root in the English character, and which had already produced Spenser, Bacon, Shakespeare and Milton, might have been stifled, as it was in France, if Charles II. could have succeeded in throwing over literature the mantle of his patronage. Following the example of his patron and adviser, Lewis, Charles began his reign by patronising science. Lewis had built the

Observatory at Paris, Charles founded the Royal Society (1662). When first incorporated, this Society, which has done such noble work in encouraging original research, bade fair to become a fashionable toy. But Charles had neither the inclination to amuse himself with scientific playthings nor the money to spend in patronising men of science. Therefore the Society flourished on its merit, and therefore it may boast of having on its roll of Fellows at this time four of the greatest scientific men Europe has ever known: Newton (1642-1727), the mathematician; Boyle (1627-1690), the chemist; Ray (1628-1705), the zoologist and botanist; and Sydenham (1624-1689) the physician.

Charles begins to patronise science by founding the Royal Society.

The vigorous activity of the intellectual life in England produced by freedom of thought was displayed no less in theology than in science. Charles had no religious feelings and no religious belief. On his death-bed he became a papist. James was an open papist. Under neither king were writers who made a philosophic study of theology likely to be patronized. The Cambridge Platonists therefore, More (1614-1687), Cudworth (1617-1687), and Culverwell, who sowed the seed which eventually ripened into broader and nobler ideas of religious liberty and religious tolerance, were inspired solely by their love of truth and received no church or political preferment, while Bunyan (1628-1688), under the fire of persecution and not under the patronage of court and fashion, produced his immortal allegory.

Charles's patronage ceases.

Works produced in England without patronage.

What England escaped from, had its two last Stuart kings taken men of learning under their protection, may be gathered from the example of Dryden.

Dryden (1631-1700) was patronized by James II. Under his protection he became a convert to Romanism.

Of enormous natural gifts, with a pregnant fancy and a trenchant wit, he advocated at various times opposite causes, at the call of his interest, his patron or his party. He, of course, followed classical models in his writings, and is worthy to rank with his French brethren in literature.

Dryden a victim to patronage

Historians have been accustomed to write of the age of Lewis XIV. as that in which France was filled with a galaxy of talent never surpassed in the history of mankind, if indeed it was ever equalled. The reign of Lewis XIV. lasted for 72 years, until the year 1715, but in that part of it treated of in this work, France had fallen from her high intellectual estate, not for many years to recover it again. England, on the other hand, has made the world its debtor for its great work at this time in science and philosophy; and humanity at large owes gratitude to the patient and consistent English thinkers who proved that the religious and political liberty now being established in their country was consistent with and resulted from the free exercise of reason and of thought.

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